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COMMON
GREEK COINS

PROTAT BROTHERS, PRINTERS, MACON (FRANCE)

COMMON

GREEK COINS

VOL. I.

THE COINAGE OF ATHENS, CORINTH,
AEGINA, BOEOTIAN LEAGUE,
ALEXANDER THE GREAT, ACHAEAN LEAGUE,
AND LYCIAN LEAGUE.

BY

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LONDON
SPINK & SON LTD.
17 & 18 PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.

1907

To the very Rev[d] the Dean of Canterbury

HENRY WACE D. D.

in grateful memory of his lectures

on Church History in King's College, London.

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PREFACE

By Dr. BARCLAY V. HEAD,

CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE

LATE KEEPER OF COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The present work is an endeavour to awaken an intelligent interest, among collectors of modest means, in the commoner series of the coins of Ancient Greece, which, either because they are not of great rarity, or because they are not always in the very finest preservation, are passed over by the wealthier amateur. Of such specimens thousands may still be obtained almost at metal value. I feel quite sure that the labour of love which the Author of this book has bestowed upon it will not be "Love's labour lost", and that it will be a means of rescuing many of these curious relics of the past from the melting-pot. Nearly all the common coins of the old Greeks vividly illuminate dark and empty spaces in the World's history, and many of them are artistically incomparably superior to our modern coins. Yet they lie neglected in the dealers' trays. The uninstructed collector passes them by and spends his modest shillings on "easy things to understand", on coins that have no story to tell.

Like Tarquin, when the ancient dame offered him the Sibylline Books, he is deaf and blind to all the precious secrets they conceal; but Mr Hands, like the Augur of old who warned the Roman King just in time to save three out of the nine books from the flames, now comes forward to appeal to young collectors, and to unveil for them a few of the hidden mysteries which these mute witnesses of a remote past may be compelled to unfold.

Most of the standard works on classical Numismatics are written by experts and for experts, and few of them are readily accessible to the " would-be collector ", nor in fact do they quite meet the requirements of those who want a little guidance in their studies. Mr Hands' charming pages can hardly fail to influence many to turn their attention to a branch of Numismatics which is capable of affording them so much instruction and delight.

PREFACE

The Study of the Coinage of Ancient Greece offers such a vast field for research, and the material is so abundant and varied, that those who wish to work therein are sometimes repelled by the magnitude of the subject.

These pages were written for beginners who can afford to collect only common coins, and who wish to obtain such general information as shall enable them to appreciate how much may be learned from a study of the coin types. The religion and politics of the dwellers in these old cities, the history of their rise and fall, the legends of heroes, and the gradual growth of Art, may all be studied from examples of the workmanship of the period to which the coins belong. For this purpose the monies used as international coinage, or by leagues of cities, have been chosen, as offering in the most simple form suitable illustrations of that ancient Greek world. We have the advantage of being able to choose for our study common, and therefore cheap, coins, which nevertheless represent some of the most famous cities, and their cults, and which were minted during the greatest periods of Grecian history.

The cities represented in this series are among the most important in the ancient world: Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Aegina, and many others less famous which were included among those associated with the Achaean and Lycian Leagues.

Among the ancient cults, illustrated by these coins, are those of Zeus, and Apollo, of Aphrodite, and Pallas-Athene, and that of the demi-god Heracles.

Connected with these cults we shall find represented, on coins of this series, some of the most famous works of Art, such as the Olympian Zeus, the statue of Athene of Pheidias as well as the head of the prehistoric olive wood figure of Athene on the earliest coins of Athens. Among the religious symbols we shall see the swastika on the Corinthian coins, the Æacid shield on those of Thebes, the tortoise of Aphrodite on the coins of Ægina, the lyre of Apollo on those of Lycia, symbols which carry us back to the ages of Mythology and the days of Homer and Hesiod.

Students and collectors of Roman coins are numerous, but of ancient Greek coins few, and this is to be regretted, for the Romans learnt not only architecture and sculpture chiefly from the Greeks, but also the art of engraving gems and coin-dies.

A thorough study of Art must always include that of its history, and the art of coin-engraving can therefore only be studied thoroughly by beginning with the Greek coinage.

The general impression now prevalent that Greek coins are all rare and costly has prevented many from entering upon this study, and that it is a false one, any inquirer may soon learn by a visit to any of the well-known dealers in ancient coins. Unfortunately we depend upon such inquiries, because there is no work on the coinage of ancient Greece similar to that of Cohen on the Roman coins, in which the prices are mentioned. The two best-known works in English are those of Dr Barclay V. Head, "Historia Numorum" and Mr G. F. Hill, "Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins".

This little book is the result of the use made of spare moments by a busy clergyman, who has found so much pleasure and profit in the study of a very small collection of Greek coins, that he hopes to induce others to seek relaxation in a pursuit which may be followed easily at times when few other pleasures could be obtained. An old Greek

coin is a talisman transporting one from the prosaic present into the distant past, from the grey fogs of the town to the sunny hills of Greece or Asia Minor.

A little coin may recall beautiful thoughts of poets and philosophers, or the brave struggles of heroes with evil and ignorance. Many a page of Homer and Pindar, of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Polybius and Plutarch, will be turned by a student of Greek coins, which would have remained closed, had it not been for the questions raised by them.

The work now presented in book form, with the exception of the chapter on the Athenian coinage, appeared in Spink & Son's *Numismatic Circular*; and it is in consequence of the favourable reception it has met with in that periodical, that it is now presented in this form. I would here wish to acknowledge my obligations to those, without whose assistance and encouragement these pages would not have been penned; firstly to the officials of the Numismatic Department of the British Museum, whose patience and kindness to all inquirers is well known, and secondly to Messrs Spink, and their assistant, M^r^ L. Forrer, for the loan of books and much valuable information.

In conclusion, the reader is asked to remember that the aim of this work is to interest those who may be beginning to study the subject, and therefore, in such a small volume, much is omitted which may be found in articles scattered among the many Home and Continental Numismatic Publications.

A. W. Hands,
Wanstead, Essex.

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GREEK COINS

OF WIDE CURRENCY

ATHENS

Happily we are able to begin our studies of common coins with those of Athens of which Pindar sang: "O illustrious Athens, stay of Greece, the rich and violet crowned, and famed in song, divine abode"; and our own English Milton has finely described the city: "— on the Ægean shore built nobly, pure the air, and light the "soil, Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts and elo- "quence".

The coins of many cities, such as Syracuse and Tarentum, were designed and executed by great artists, and have been in all ages treasured as gems of art. How beautiful might we not naturally expect to find the coins of the greatest and fairest of the cities of Greece, the city in which Poetry and Art attained perfection, and where Philosophy was set to the music of perfect expression; but such expectation is doomed to disappointment, for the iron hand of commercial expediency prevented the application of artistic power to her currency; the purity of metal and the uniformity of weight made it difficult to alter in any way the early rude designs of the city's money.

All that belongs to Athens, even her rude coinage, is endued with the charm of her history, and however the coins may fall short of the ideal beauty we might expect from the city of Pheidias, no one can regard the owl-stamped coins without associating them with men whom we must regard as the world's greatest thinkers and artists.

Plutarch teaches us to associate the earliest mint with the shrine of Theseus, the mythical hero who is said to have gathered the men

of Attica and made them citizens of one city. From the site of this early mint the drachms were called "Στεφανηφόρου δραχμὰς", i.e. drachms of the crown-bearer, because this was a popular name of the hero who was represented by a statue bearing a wreath. The archaic head of Athene on the earliest tetradrachms may be also associated with the earliest period, when the statue of that goddess was a rude figure carved in olive-wood.

The variations of detail and type, which make the coinage of some Greek cities so interesting to students of history, are almost entirely wanting in the coins of Athens. The only guide to any classification of the coinage in regard to history must be looked for in the style and fabric rather than in the design of the type.

The reason for this want of variety is generally thought to be the fear of making any change in a coinage which was in reality an international currency, and represented an important commerce. A passage in the Frogs of Aristophanes has often been quoted as expressing this popularity of the "owls" (730 seq.).

The Hemichorus sings: "That often seems to happen to our city in regard to the good and gentle which happens to the old coinage and the new gold."

"For they, although they are not adulterated, but are the best of all coins as it seems, and they alone are rightly struck, and prove good by ringing, as well among the Greeks as among the barbarians, are not used at all, but (we use) these bad brass coins recently struck with the worst type. And those citizens whom we know to be ingenuous and modest, just men, good and proved &c., we use with most unworthy contumely, whereas these brazen strangers &c., we use for all things".

Yet there are a few variations of detail which may be noted together with the style, as for instance the ornaments on the helmet of Athene, the shape of the eye of the goddess, and the different designs of the helmet on the coins classified as of the New Style.

The variations in style and fabric however will enable us to associate some coins with the Peisistratidæ, and others with the period of Athens' glory, the times of Themistocles and Pericles, others with the period of the Peloponnesian war, and others again with the period when Roman influence was dominant. In answer to the natural question, which were the coins used by the great men Æschylus, Sophocles, Socrates, Thucydides, Herodotus, we may refer to the following classification.

MYTHICAL AND UNIDENTIFIED COINAGE

Philochorus in his Scholia on the Birds of Aristophanes, line 1106 — γλαῦκες ὑμᾶς οὔποτ' ἐπιλείψουσι Λαυριωτικαι after saying the

type of the tetradrachm was the owl and the head of Athene, says "των προτέρων διδράχμων όντων έπίσημιν δε βοῦν ἐκόντων, i.e. the first didrachms had for their type a bull.

Now didrachms with a bull's head, and incuse square, are known (Brit. Mus. Guide, pl. V, 23). But a bull's head is not a bull, and the bull's head coins are generally thought to belong to the series of Euboea rather than to Athens.

Plutarch also says the early coins issued by Theseus bare a bull, but writers such as these cannot be trusted when they contradict the evidence of the coins, and their assertions may be classed with those of the Talmudists who describe the coinage of Adam and Eve, Abraham, Joshua, and other Biblical heroes.

The reference to a bull on the coins may have been an attempt to explain the proverbial saying quoted by Aeschylus (Ag. 35) "βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας βέβηκεν".

Three coins only in the British Museum are attributed to the period of Solon :

1. a small electrum coin (Hemihecton); weight 21 grs.
2. a small silver coin (Hemiobol); weight 11.2 grs.
3. a Drachm — weight 124 grs.

Obv. of all three, an owl to left with closed wings.

Rℒ. An archaic sunk pattern, a square with diagonal ridges.

The earliest coinage, that of Lydia, was not issued in silver but in electrum, and coins in this metal are known to have been issued in Chalcis and Euboea.

One specimen is attributed to Athens by Beulé, p. 64, n° 1. with an owl on the obverse to left with wings closed, and an incuse design of triangular incisions on the reverse.

It is figured in Pl. I, n° 1 of "the Coins of Attica" in the Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

Several specimens of these electrum coins have been found near Athens. They are called Hectae and are of Euboic weight. Even if we were convinced that they were issued in Athens we cannot tell whether they preceded the issue of silver money there. A drachm and an obol bearing the same types are mentioned as doubtful coins on p. XII of the B. Mus. Cat. of coins of Attica.

SOLON, ARCHON IN 594

Pollux (IX 61) and Plutarch (Sol. 23) inform us that Solon commuted into money values the fines which had hitherto been paid in oxen and sheep, but we do not know what sort of money is referred to; it may have been that issued from the mint of Aegina, for the enterprising traders of that island had established commercial relations with the surrounding cities at that time. Plutarch refers however to a more important work of Solon in reference to

money, and quotes Androtion, who related that Solon instituted a monetary reform in order to lessen the burden of debt then pressing heavily upon the Athenians. Solon is said to have decreed that all existing debts should be payable in money of a lighter weight than that then current, the proportion of the new coinage to the old being as 73 : 100, thus saving the debtors 27 per cent. We know this to be the proportion between the Euboic Attic drachm 67.5 grs and the slightly worn Aeginetic Stater of about 92 grs.

We may also gather that the Aeginetic Standard was used in Attica from the fact that it continued to be used as a commercial though not a monetary standard for years afterwards.

The reasons for the adoption of the Euboic standard have been clearly expressed by H. Koehler (Die Solonische Münzreform, in the Mitth. d. arch. Inst. Athen. 151).

First, it was intended as a means of opening new markets for the commerce of Athens, and, secondly, of competing with the Corinthians, and Euboeans, who had widely extended their commerce in the West.

Three reasons have been given for thinking the earliest coins with a type on both sides and the legend AΘE were not issued by Solon. I, The form of the letter ⊙ is thought to be not of such an early date. II, The coins known to be of that early period have not a reverse type, but only an incuse pattern sunk for the purpose of steadying the coin when struck. III, That it is recorded that Hippias introduced a new type.

In regard to the first objection the form of the letter ⊙ is found on early Attic vase inscriptions before the time of Hippias.

In regard to the second objection, there is nothing really improbable in the idea that Athens should issue coins with a type on both sides at such a date seeing that contemporary coins of other cities exist with reverse types. We may, for example, note the coins of Cyprus, Brit. Mus. Guide (pl. XI, 41), also those of Calymna, Brit. Mus. Guide (pl. III, 29), the earliest coins also of Samos, and the incuse bull on the ℞. of the coins of Sybaris.

The third objection appears to be founded on a passage in pseudo-Aristotle (Oecon, II, 2, 4.) in which he says that Hippias issued a coinage with ἕτερος χαραχτήρ, " another type ", which is assumed to be that of the head of Athene and the owl, but this expression would possibly apply to the more refined types issued by Hippias in place of the very archaic heads on the earliest coins.

There is however, in the British Museum, a very rare coin which has been regarded as from the mint of Euboea and is described under that heading on p. 302 of the " Historia Numorum ", but now is classed by Dr Head as the earliest coin we possess of Athens.

It is possible that this may be a specimen of the coins of Solon.

On the Obverse is an owl to left with wings closed, in a circle or raised border line.

On the reverse, an incuse square diagonally divided.

They are found in Attica and not in Euboea, and the town Athena Diades, to which they were attributed, was not of any importance at that time, and no other coins are attributed to its mint, unless we include a stater and an obol mentioned by Dr Head in p. xii of B. Mus. Cat., Attica.

The design of this coin would answer the objection made in regard to the Reverse type and the archaic character of the coin is in favour of its being from the mint of Solon.

The weight of this coinage would be in harmony with what we read of Solon's reform of the currency.

THE TYPES

The archaic head of Athene on the obverse of the coins of Peisistratus brings to our minds the earlier conception of the Parthenos or Kore of the old Pelasgic dwellers on the Acropolis, while the more ornate heads on the later coins remind us of the developed idea of the goddess of reason, and the art of Pheidias.

The primitive Aryans are thought to have worshipped Zeus as the supreme god, and most of the other deities, such as Apollo and Poseidon, were probably derived from various forms of nature-worship developed by the Aryan tribes during their migrations.

Müller holds that these cults came to Greece from Asia, but Curtius thinks they passed from Greece to Asia Minor. After the Indo-European and Italo-Greek periods came the Æolian with Zeus, Hera, and Athene, then the Græco-Ionic with Apollo, Artemis, and Poseidon, and finally the Achaean with the legends of the Trojan war. In a recent work by Miss J. E. Harrison, "Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion" (Camb. 1903), we have brought before us an interesting theory of the rise and growth of the cult of Athene. Each clan or city is supposed to have believed in a tutelary spirit called the Κόρη, the Virgin of the tribe. The earliest embodiment of the idea was probably a snake or bird; in the case of the Athenians both these symbols were used.

Hence the owls of the rocky hills of Athens were from the earliest times looked upon as emblems of the guardian spirit of the clan.

The derivation of the name Athene seems uncertain.

In the Cratylus of Plato we see how vague were the ideas on this subject in his day, he suggests Θεός νόη and Ἠθος νόος. It has been suggested that the name may be derived from ΑΝΘ ἀνθεω, but

there is no evidence that an N has ever been present. Some have suggested Ἀιθηρ, and that the goddess was the personification of the air, but there is no ancient evidence to support this idea. The word Athene was first used in an adjectival form Αθηναίη describing the brightness of the Κόρη or Παρθένος.

This word παρθενος was used in connection with cities in Asia also. *Confer* Isaiah XXIII, 12. "O thou oppressed Virgin daughter of Sidon" IsaiahXLVII, "O virgin daughter of Babylon", and even of Jerusalem XXXVII, 22 "The virgin the daughter of Jerusalem hath despised thee". The Septuagint translators used the word Παρθενος in each case.

The Κόρη Αθηναίη was the protectress of the original dwellers on the Acropolis, but the other tribes who united to form the city had for their protectress Παλλας, the Κύρη of the Pallantidæ, the opposers of Theseus. When the clans were united, the Pallas of the Pallantidæ was merged in the Parthenos Pallas Athene. These personified emblems of the city have been called the Τύχη of Athens. These archaic heads on the coins are contemporaneous with many old vases decorated with images of Athene and the owl, and some of them illustrate her connection with the legend of Herakles, a fact wich throws some doubt upon the merely local origin of the cult.

As all the other great cults of the Greeks were founded on nature-worship it is more probable that the original cult of Athene was the worship of the storms and their accompanying phenomena. She was born from the head of Zeus as the lightning which rends the clouds from which the rain bringing blessings descends. The name Pallas may refer to her as the wielder of the thunder-storms. The tongue darting serpents of the gorgon-headed breastplate are the lightning flashes.

The epithet Glaucopis also may refer to the clear bright sky after the storm has passed. As the storm drives away gloom and oppression, so Athene brought brightness to the minds of men, and Athens rose to the heights of intellectual clearness partly by her devotion to the ideas of brightness, clearness, and her strife against gloom and oppression.

This idea, which is supported by Adolf Holm, seems more natural than that of Miss Harrison.

There is a myth concerning the decision of the Athenians, as to the deity they would worship, recorded by Servius in his notes on Virgil, Georgias I, 12, and by Herodotus, VIII, 55, which probably represents a struggle between the aristocratic foreign, and the democratic native elements of the society. Poseidon and Athene were contending as to which should be the deity of the rising city. It was agreed among the gods that whoever should give the best gift to the people should rule them.

Poseidon struck the shore with his trident and gave a horse; Athene cast her spear, and produced an olive tree. This, as a symbol of peace, was preferred to the horse, the symbol of war.

Confer the notes of Mr. B. A. Niel on the Knights of Aristophanes, p. 83. The statistics of worships have been used for the elucidation of the history of the city of Athens by C. Wachsmuth in 1874 (Die Stadt Athen).

As Athenian literature, art, sculpture, and architecture developed with the growth of the city in power and wealth, so did the idea of their tutelary divinity grow in accordance with the tendencies of the citizens, until from the days of Pheidias to those of Plato the worldly wisdom and prudence, the technical skill of the artists and workmen, the skill of the generals, all the powers of which the Athenians were proud were attributed to the Parthenos.

It is interesting to compare the personification of the "wisdom" of the Hebrews (Cochmah) which dates from a period very near to this age of Athens, found in the book of Proverbs and to note the ethical superiority of the Jewish idea and its Divine origin. It has been said that the cult of Athene was practically the worship of the ideals of the citizens, Athene was to them Athens, but in the works of Plato a divine source of wisdom is not obscurely hinted at, and Athene may have represented the desire of the higher and deeper thinkers of the city in his days.

REVERSE TYPES

Owls were very numerous among the rocky hills of Athens and are still common.

What the doves were to Sicyon, the eagle to Elis, the wild swans to Clazomene, the owls were to Athens, objects which reminded the citizen of his home wherever they were seen. So in our own time doves are associated with Venice, and storks with Nuremberg.

The owl was called γλαύξ from its gleaming eyes and the goddess Athene was called γλαυκῶπις by Homer, Illiad, I, 206.

τον δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεά γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

The owl is a bird of the night and it may be for that reason that on the Reverse type of tetradrachms of the days of Hippias the crescent moon was added behind the figure of the owl. This addition to the type has not been explained, and one naturally inquires whether the symbol refers to the owl or to the goddess.

The epithet γλαυκῶπις is applied both to the moon and to the goddess; *confer* Empedocles ap. Plutarch, 2.934 c. de facie in orbe Lunæ "γλαυκῶπιν αὐτην οἱ ποιητάι καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀνακαλυῦνται." Most probably we must refer the symbol to the bird as we have seen that was the earliest symbol of the Parthenos.

The olive-spray on the Reverse of the Athenian coins may have reference to the θαλλός or olive-twig carried by suppliants to the shrine of Athene, or perhaps to the prizes which were given in the Panathenaic games, which consisted of a sprig of olive and a jar of oil from the sacred tree on the Acropolis (Adolf Holm, 409). In the great procession of the Panatheneae aged men (θαλλοφόροι) carried olive-branches. Possibly the spray of olive may have originally referred to the legend that Athene gave this valuable tree to the Greeks, but the games and the religious ceremonies were all connected with the original mythical giver of the blessing to the land, and the symbol would be associated with the goddess in whose honour all the games were held. What the vine to Jerusalem the olive was to Athens; other cities also caused plants to be represented on their coinage as the Vine of Maroneia, the Laurel of Sicyon, the Palm-tree of Judæa, the Rose of Rhodes, the Sylphium of Cyrenæ and Barcæ, the Celery of Selinus, the Pomegranate of Side, the Apple of Melos.

CLASSIFICATION

No classification of the coins of Athens satisfactory to students of history and archaeology has yet been made, and no attempt to clear up the difficulties involved is here attempted. The coins in our cabinets can be easily arranged in a fairly satisfactory manner by placing together those which are similar in style, fabric, and design.

Class I would naturally consist of the globular coarse archaic coins, issued before the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

Class II would consist of the earlier archaistic coins in which we see the olive crown on the helmet, the heavy jaw and chin on the head of the goddess, 490-460 B.C.

Class III would consist of the coins of the same type but with less archaic stiffness and the goddess represented with a more refined face, smaller jaw and chin and better defined lips, 460-407 B.C.

Class IV would consist of those coins in which the eye of the goddess appears for the first time in profile; they probably belong to 393-322 B.C.

Class V would contain all the coins of the new style bearing the head of Athene copied from the statue of Pheidias. They were issued from 322 to 83 B.C.

CLASS I (a). 550-527 B.C.

The appearance of the head of the goddess Athene on the obveret types of the Athenian coins may with much probability be thougsh to be the result of the return of Peisistratus to power after his

first exile in the year 550 B.C. because that ruler was so much indebted to his devotion to that divinity. Herodotus in his first book, chapter 60, tells us the interesting legend of Peisistratus dressing up a tall and beautiful young woman named Phya as Athene and sending heralds into the city to proclaim that the goddess was herself coming to lead back Peisistratus to be their ruler; the ruse succeeded and the citizens received him. His rule was a time of considerable maritime expansion and increase of wealth to Athens, a period when money would naturally be coined in considerable quantity and his connection with the mines of Laurium would provide the means.

This opinion is supported by such numismatists as von Fritze, W. Lermann, G. Perrot and E. Babelon. The archaic style of these coins is in harmony with the art of that period.

The earliest tetradrachms, bearing the head of Athene and the owl type on the Reverse, weigh generally from about 260 to 275 grains, and measure about eight-tenths of an inch in diameter; in fabric they are thick, and rather globular in shape.

Obverse, Helmeted head of Athene to right.

The crest of the helmet is decorated with a pattern composed of chevrons with a ball in each.

The rim of the helmet over the forehead is very plain. An earlike decoration over the ear ends below in a boss. The back neck-piece is rounded below.

The face of Athene is archaic and ill-formed.

The eye is very large in proportion to the face, and is represented in full view instead of in profile.

The curls on the forehead of Athene are in stiff parallel rows, similar to those on archaic statues of Apollo. The nose is very rudely formed, and the nostril formed by a circular boss, the result of the drilling tool, untouched by a graver.

The lips are generally rude and formless.

Reverse. An incuse square within which an owl to right with the head turned facing, the wings closed, and shorter in proportion than those of later types.

No object is shown for the bird's feet to rest upon.

In the earliest period the head of the owl is larger in proportion than the heads on the coins of the later part of this period.

In the field to left, an olive-spray of two leavesand a berry; to right AΘE.

Specimens of these coins have been found among the ruins of the city destroyed by the Persians.

These coins are generally valued at about £ 2.

CLASS I (b). 526-491 B.C.

COINS OF HIPPIAS.

The difficulties encountered by those who try to understand what the ancients wrote about the coins of Hippias are very great.

When we look at a large collection of Athenian coins we see some which are later than those of Peisistratus, and yet have not the olive crown on the helmet; these appear to fit into the period between the fall of Peisistratus, and the battle of Marathon. The olive crown is thought by some distinguished numismatists to be a memorial of that victory. It has been thought that the celebrated passage in pseudo-Aristotle (Oecon. II, 2, 4) signifies that Hippias issued coins with a different type from those of Peisistratus, but there was never any real change of type in the Athenian coinage until 220 B.C and the words ἕτερος χαρακτήρ may signify only such a difference of style as we see between his coins and those they superseded.

The passage in question is as follows :

τότε νόμισμα τὸ ὂν ᾽ἀδόκίμον ἐποιήσε. τάξας δὲ τιμὴν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακομίζειν συνελθόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κόψκι ἕτεραν χαρακτῆρα, ἐξέδωκε τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργύριον.

"Then he pronounced the coinage which the Athenians had to be base, and assigning a value to it he bade them bring it back to him, and upon their coming together for the purpose of striking a different type he handed over the same silver."

M. E. Babelon thinks this passage has reference to a debasement of the coinage by Hippias, but it does not seem to me that ἀδοκιμον ἐποιησε means ' he made a base coinage '.

There is quite sufficient difference between the earliest rude archaic coins of Peisistratus, and the later coins without the olive crown to make the words " another fashion or type " quite suitable ot the change we see in the coins, and a comparison of numbers ot the globular earliest coins with the coins of the period just before Marathon makes the decision of Hippias to call in the old coins as unsatisfactory, most probable.

The head of Athene on the coins of Class I may be compared with the head of that goddess represented on a bas-relief found in the

ruins of the Acropolis; a photograph of this figure is given on p. 28 *Journal Internat. Arch. Num.* in the article *Les origines de la monnaie à Athènes,* by M. E. Babelon. The resemblance is most striking, and one is convinced that the coins and the sculpture must be of one period, viz. the second half of the sixth century.

The hair on the bas-relief is similar to the coins of Class I rather than of Class II.

The coins of this series are generally valued at from 10/- to £ 1.

The differences of detail in the later series of Class I consist in the following points.

Obverse. The ornamentation of the helmet crest is varied; sometimes a row of dots, or a row of dots above an ornament rather like an egg-and-tongue enrichment.

The hair of the Goddess on the forehead is in longer, thinner locks, each curled at the end, or on some coins ending in little round bosses, but the former is more common.

The eye of the Goddess is smaller than in the 1st series but is still in full view, i. e. showing both corners.

Reverse. The spray of olive no longer always consists of two leaves, but sometimes has three on each side of the bud, six leaves in all.

The owl is much more natural, and the feathers are well marked. The legend is sometimes AΘE instead of AΘE. These two forms of the letter Theta are found to be of the same date.

CLASS II. 490-460 B.C.

COINS OF MILTIADES AND THEMISTOCLES.

The addition of the olive leaves to the helmet is most noticeable in this series. M. Six has proposed to recognize in this crown an allusion to the victory of the Greeks over the Persian hosts at Marathon in 490 B.C. It is also said that the arrangement of the hair in waves, as seen first on these coins, began about this time.

Some numismatists have thought that the victory alluded to by the crown may have been that won at Salamis in 480 B.C., but coins bearing this type have been found which were deposited before that event.

A hundred such tetradrachms were found in the canal made by Xerxes at the foot of Mount Athos for the passage of his fleet; one of these is illustrated by Beulé, but it is a barbarous imitation; nevertheless it is a witness that the design was made previously to 480 B.C. M. E. Babelon gives an illustration of a coin of this type dug up in Athens with others which were buried before the fall of Athens under Xerxes.

About half-a-dozen decadrachms are in existence bearing this obverse type with the crown, and on the Reverse an owl with wings spread; these were also probably issued at the same time to commemorate the victory at Marathon.

The beautiful spiral ornament on the helmets of this series is shown by M. Svoronos to be an emblem of immortality. This ornament is used in a mystic sense as an appendage to the heads of Griffins, Sphinxes, and Sirens. Confer the description by M. Svoronos of the National Museum at Athens (p. 112, Greek Ed.).

The crescent moon appears for the first time on the reverse types of this Class.

The owl is shorter in proportion on the coins of this period than on those of the next.

The coins of the early part of this series may be distinguished by the following details: —

Obverse. The head of the Goddess fills the whole surface of the coin, the crest being only partly visible.

The crest is of straight hairs rising from a row of small dots, the shape of the helmet very round.

The rim over the forehead simple and narrow, from it the three upright olive leaves arise.

Behind the ear is a stalk curved forward ending in for or five small narrow leaves.

The ear-piece ends in a boss below, and the neck-piece is simple

and square, or pointed downwards in front, generally with a row of little dots in front.

The eye of the Goddess is still shown in full, as on the coins of Class I., but the nose and lips are more carefully modelled, though the lips are still rather unformed. A necklace of a band with a row of pearls underneath decorates the neck. The hair of the Goddess is arranged in two waves of simple design with lines to denote the hair.

CLASS III. 460-407 B.C.

Although at first sight the coins of this period are very similar to the later coins of Class II, yet when a large number of tetradrachms are seen together it is quite easy to separate and class together those which differ from Class II, especially in regard to the chin and jaw, which is less heavy than on the earlier series, and in the lips and nose, which are more carefully modelled than on the earlier coins, and in the expression of the face of Athene which is more gracious and less stiff and archaic.

It is not surprising that these marks of growing refinement should be visible on the coins of the period in which Pericles and Pheidias were making Athens the most beautiful city in Greece.

It is also interesting to be able to identify readily the coins used by Socrates, who was born in 468 B.C., and by Herodotus, who was fifty-three years old in 431 B.C. when the Peloponnesian war began. Thucydides was then forty years of age. This is the coinage of Athens in the period of her supremacy and glory.

THE ATHENIAN MINT CLOSED. 407-393 B.C.

In the period of her humiliation Athens issued no coinage; early in this time of sadness, in 406 B.C., Euripides and Sophocles died, and near the close of the troubles Socrates died in 399 B.C.

The Period is generally dated from the banishment of Alcibiades in 407 B.C., three years before the walls were destroyed by Lysander, and the abolishment of the Democracy. Athens was then

ruled by thirty men, known as the Thirty Tyrants, for about eight months, when Thrasybulus, who had been banished by them, returned from Thebes with a force strong enough to defeat the Thirty. He was joined in this work by the great Athenian orator Lysias who had been also banished and had stayed at Megara, and now assisted by the sacrifice of his own private fortune.

In 395 B. C. Plato returned to Athens and two years later the naval hero Conon returned, and began to rebuild the fallen long walls and the fortifications of the Peiraeus.

CLASS IV. 393-339 B.C.

The coinage issued in 393 B.C., after an interval of about fourteen years, shows in the details of its types a decided break with the old traditions of the mint, for although the main design was the same as it had always been, the style was changed, and the affectation of archaic style gave place to an attempt to conform to the art of the age, but the Athenians had suffered too severely to permit them to emulate the coinage of Magna Græcia. Conon brought with him from Persia supplies of silver and gold with which the mint-masters were enabled to reopen their workshops.

The coins of this period may be readily distinguished by the fact that the eye of Athene is shown in profile instead of in the archaic manner.

The boss under the ear is larger and the leaves at the end of the spiral emblem on the helmet are more conventional and larger than before.

The hair of Athene under the helmet is wrought in small bosses and arranged as if in a net.

The head of the Goddess fills the space of the Obverse.

On the Reverse the head of the owl is larger in proportion than was usual and the feathers stand out like a ruff round the head. The breast feathers are marked sometimes in little bosses and the feet of the owl are larger than usual in proportion. The crescent moon is often larger than before in proportion.

The bud is often very small between the spray of two olive-leaves, or even lacking.

These are the coins used by Aristotle, and Demosthenes; they are common, and are valued at about 10 shillings.

In the year 338 B.C. Philip of Macedon defeated the Athenians and Thebans at Chaeroneia; two years later Philip was murdered, and his son Alexander, then only twenty years of age succeeded to his throne. Thebes was crushed by him in 335 B.C. and in the next year he began his victorious campaign against the Persians.

In 323 B.C. the Greek States made war upon Macedonia and Leosthenes, the Athenian general, besieged Lamia, in which town Antipater had taken refuge, but Leosthenes died and Demosthenes returned to Athens. When Crateros came to the help of Antipater the Greeks were defeated at Crannon in the August of 322, and thus the Lamian war was ended. Demosthenes and Aristotle died in the same year.

In 318 B.C. Athens was conquered by Cassander, and the city placed under the rule of Demetrius Phalereus. Though the fact is not recorded yet we may feel sure that the Athenians lost the right to coin money, and the coinage which took the place of the old "owls" was that of Alexander.

There are three coins in the British Museum which are attributed to this troubled period, 338–322 B.C. These rare coins may be distinguished by the head of an ox introduced as a symbol to the left of the owl on the Reverse and by the rim of the vizor which is turned upwards in a circular curl over the ear, on the Obverse.

FOREIGN IMITATIONS OF CLASS IV. 322-220 B.C.

Foreign imitations of Class IV, 322-220 B.C. The Athenian owl coinage was so popular in the East that in some places coins were struck in imitation thereof. We have many specimens from Egypt, Persia and India, which can only be distinguished by their style from the old coinage, for with few exceptions the legend ΑΘΕ was still used. In Egypt we find coins bearing letters said to be סרגן (Sargon), perhaps the name of a local governor, set up by Alexander or one of his successors. On coins of India the legend ΑΙΓ appears, and it has been suggested that it may be an abbreviation for Aegobares, who is mentioned in one MS of Arrian Anab. VII, 6, 5, though the best codices read Autobares in that place.

On the Indian coins the Reverse type is sometimes changed, and we see an eagle in place of the owl.

Tetradrachms in imitation of the "owls" of Athens were issued by Mazaeus, the Persian satrap of Egypt, who submitted to Alexander in 322 B.C.; they bear his name (*Num. Chron.*, 1884, pl. VI, 9-10).

Other imitations of the old "owls" were issued in Southern Arabia bearing Himyaritic letters (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., pl. XIII, and XX, pl. XV).

Besides these there are in the British Museum some coins of uncertain mintage, one with a bull's head as symbol in the field to left under the olive-spray; the crescent is lacking. This coin shows it was issued at the time when symbols were usually placed in the coinage.

As a help in distinguishing the Asiatic owl coins we may note that the Egyptian coins bear Semitic letters.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* of. 1906, Part 1. Fourth Series, n° 21 is an article by Dr Barclay V. Head on the *Graeco-Bactrian* and *Graeco-Indian Coins*, illustrated on plate I with photographs of copies of the Athenian coinage. The face of the Goddess is Indian in style, the olive-leaves rounder than the more pointed Greek leaves. The head of the owl is larger than usual. On one coin the Reverse legend is ΠΙV instead of ΑΘΕ which appears on the other coins. Nearly all the coins similar to these come from India.

CLASS V.

Commonly called Coinage of the NEW STYLE. 220-83 B.C.

These coins are hardly as plentiful as those called common coins, but specimens in poor condition are often to be had for a few shillings.

They are easily distinguished from the older classes by the large size and flat outspread fabric similar to that found on the coins of Asia Minor in the latter part of the third century before Christ, as for example on the coins of Mithridates IV, and Prusias I of Bithynia, 228-180 B.C., of Attalus of Pergamos, of Demetrius of Bactria, and of Antigonus Gonatas. Their fabric helps us to assign their date to about the same period.

The Obverse type is still a head of Pallas Athene, but the design was evidently copied from the celebrated statue by Pheidias standing in the Parthenon. Pausanias thus describes the helmet of the Goddess. "The image of a sphinx is placed upon the cone of her helmet.... on each side of her helmet too there are griffins and these griffins are said by Aristeas, the Proconnesian, in his verses, to have fought for the sake of the gold, with the Arimaspi who dwell above the Isedones. The gold indeed, which the griffins guard, the poet says, was sent from the earth; but the Arimaspi had each of them

but one eye from their birth. He adds that the griffins are like lions, but that they have the wings and beak of an eagle. And thus much concerning griffins."

The great statue of Pheidias was dedicated in 438 B.C., and the artist died six years later.

About two hundred and eighteen years therefore passed away before this celebrated statue influenced the designs of the Athenian coinage, and the more ancient statue from which the coins of the days of Pheidias, Hippias, and Peisistratides were copied no longer exists. The earlier coins may well have been copied from the image of olive-wood dedicated by King Erichthonius known in later times as the statue of Athena Polias, and held as the most sacred object in Athens.

As the object of this little book is rather to give a clear idea of the classification of the coins than to give detailed lists, and as the common coins are those specially described, all who wish to study the series of the later coins of the new style are referred to the lists given in the *Historia Numorum* of Dr Head and the articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for fuller information. It will here, suffice to say they are divided into seven classes and consist of over a hundred series.

Class I. Without ΑΘΕ, two monograms. Work good.
— II. ΑΘΕ Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ, no names. Work good.
— III. ΑΘΕ, two monograms. Work good.
These three classes were issued between 220-196 B.C.
Class IV. ΑΘΕ, two names abbreviated. Work good. 196-186 B.C.
— V. ΑΘΕ, three names. Work good. 186-146 B.C.
— VI. ΑΘΕ, three names. Work rough. } 146-86 B.C.
— VII. ΑΘΕ, two names. Work rough. }

The names of the magistrates only give a clue to the date of the issue in four cases, viz: —

1. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ — ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ (Class V). 176 B.C.
2. ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΥΣ] ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΕΗΣ — ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ (Class VII). 88 B.C.
3. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ — ΦΙΛΩΝ (Class VI). 87 B.C.
4. ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ — ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (Class VI). 86 B.C.

For Aristion of n° 2 confer Pausanias I, 20, 5.

Apellicon of n° 4, the peripatetic philosopher, was his friend and accomplice.

Classes I, II and III were issued in virtue of the "foedus aequum" of Tacitus Ann. II, 53.

In Class IV we find the name **MIKI[ΩN]**, probably the sons of Eurycleides of 194 B.C., descendants of the famous orators mentioned by Plutarch, Aratus 41., Polybius V, 106, and Pausanias II, 9, 4.

Of famous statues we may notice one representation of Apollo and the Charites mentioned by Pausanias IX, 35-3 and one representation of the famous group of the tyrannicides Cretios and Nesiotes; Overbeck, Plastic I, 116.

DENOMINATIONS OF SILVER ATHENIAN COINS.

The **DECADRACHMON** weighed 675 grains.

Very few specimens are known; these all belong to the period of the Persian wars.

The Reverse type shows the Owl facing with wings spread, and the olive-spray in the top left hand corner of the incuse square; the legend, **AΘE**.

The Obverse is similar to that of class III.

The **TETRADRACHMON** weighed 270 grains, but some specimens weigh less, many 260 grs., and some even less.

This is the commonest of all the denominations.

The **DIDRACHMON** weighed 135 grains.

The type is that of the tetradrachm.

Only four specimens were known to Baron Prokesch-Osten in 1854, and only two specimens are in the British Museum; these weigh 129 grs. and 127 grs. respectively.

They are very rare coins, and were only struck about the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The **DRACHMON** weighed 67.5 grains, but the specimens in our museums weigh generally about 65 grs.

These are more common, especially those issued after 450 B.C.

The type is that of the tetradrachms.

The **PENTOBOLON** weighed 56.25 grains.

These are very rare coins.

The head of Pallas is represented in a helmet of Corinthian form; the Owl has the wings spread, and an amphora stands in the field on the right side.

Legend spread about the field as usual, **AΘE**. This denomination is mentioned by Aristophanes Eq. 793 (424 B.C.).

The **TETROBOLON** weighed 45 grains.

These are rare coins. They were issued after 424 B.C.

The Obverse bears the normal head of Pallas of that period.

The Reverse bears two owls with closed wings facing each other, with heads turned facing and very near each other.

Legend AΘE.

There are two specimens in the British Museum.

The **TRIOBOLON** weighed 33.75 grains.

It is the half-drachm.

These are more common coins in all three periods.

The Obverse type is the normal head of Pallas.

The Reverse type is an owl facing, with closed wings, and an olive-spray on each side hanging downward.

There are twelve specimens in the British Museum.

The **DIOBOLON** weighed 22.5 grains.

The Obverse bears the normal head of Pallas.

There are two Reverse types : (*a*) in 430 B.C. two owls similar to those on the tetrobolon, but with two leaves of olive between them ; (*b*) a double-bodied owl with only one head, two olive-leaves to left above, and AΘE.

There are six specimens in the British Museum.

The **TRIHEMIOBOLON** weighed 16.87 grains and was equal to one and a half obols.

Obverse, normal head of Pallas.

Reverse, an owl facing with the wings spread, similar type to that of the Triobolon in all respects.

The **OBOLON** weighed 11.25 grains.

Obverse type, the normal head of Pallas.

Two Reverse types; (a) An owl with closed wings to right with olive-spray behind and AΘE to right.

These are common coins. There are sixteen specimens in the British Museum.

(b) Four crescents disposed in a square with their convex sides towards the letter Θ in the centre, A on the left and E on the right. There are three specimens of this type in the Brit. Museum.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox in the *Revue numismatique*, 1887, p. 120 proposes to name these coins Heptachalkon. Calculating the Chalkous at 1.4 grains, this Heptachalkon should weigh 9.30 grains. The weights of the specimens in the British Museum 9.8, 9.7, 9.2. seem to favour this new nomenclature, but what ancient authority is there for the name ?

The **TRITEMORION** weighed 8.45 grains.

The Obverse bears the normal head of Pallas.

There are two Reverse types: (a). Three crescents disposed with the concave sides inwards around the letters AΘE.

(b). Similar to the type of the Triobolon, an owl facing with closed wings, AΘE and an olive-spray.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox proposes to call this coin a Pentechalkon. There are ten specimens in the Brit. Museum.

The **HEMIOBOLON**, or half obol, weighed 5.62 grains.

Obverse type, the normal head of Pallas.

Reverse, the same as that of the obol, an owl with closed wings to right, an olive-spray to left, and **AΘE** to right in field.

The **TRIHEMITETARTEMORION** weighed 4.2 grains; it was three-eighths of an obol.

Obverse. Normal head of Pallas to left?

Reverse. A Calathus, (κάλαθος) a basket.

Four specimens in the British Museum.

These small coins were all in use before 407 B.C.

The **TETARTEMORION** weighed 2.8 grains and was the quarter of an Obol.

Obverse. Normal head of Pallas.

Reverse. A crescent with the points upwards and within their space above **AΘE**.

Ten specimens in the British Museum, on one of these the legend is **ƎΘA**. This denomination disappears from the series when class IV began, probably because its bronze counterpart had brought it into ill-repute.

The **HEMITETARTEMORION** weighed 1.4 grains and was one eighth of an Obol.

These very rare coins were most probably superseded by the bronze Chalkous on account of their being inconveniently small.

Obverse. Normal head of Pallas.

Reverse. Owl facing with wings closed; on either side a spray of olive; **Θ—E** [**A**] wanting above.

THE BRONZE COINAGE.

In cities where silver was sufficiently abundant for the currency, copper was not readily accepted by the people, because the value of copper was so small that a large piece of that metal was needed if it was to represent a real value, as at Rome, where the Aes grave was very heavy. The Athenians had been supplied with very small fractions of the drachms struck in silver, and therefore did not need representations of such fractions.

There was also a custom which seems strange to us of carrying such small change in the mouth, and therefore copper coins would be both unpleasant and unwholesome if carried in that manner. Only some great necessity would drive the citizens to accept a copper currency. It is said that one of the first to suggest this unpopular change was Dionysius who was for that reason surnamed Chalkos (Athen. XV p. 669). Aristophanes in his play "the Frogs",

given under the archonate of Callias in 406 B.C. mentions the copper coins introduced in that time of trouble (line 730, p. 237, ed. R. F. P. Brunck). The passage is quoted on the first page of this chapter.

These would be the very small coins unlike the silver coin-types mentioned by Mr. Earle Fox in his article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* illustrated on plate I.

The withdrawal of these is mentioned by Aristophanes in his Play, the Ecclesiazuæ 816 seq.

" Don't you remember our decree on the copper coinage? Yes, and I lost enough by it. I had sold some grapes and I was going off with my mouth full of copper. I arrived at the market to buy some flour, and I was just holding the bag ready to receive it, when the herald began to cry: " Let no one henceforth take any copper coins, silver only will be legal ".

Mr. Earle Fox has shown how improbable it is that the coins like the silver coins were those demonetized, spoken of by Aristophanes. The fact that they were not issued during such a short time shows that they did not belong to that period. Coins of the Tetrobol type were issued during a long period. The coins demonetized were only two small coins, one bearing a head of Athene to left, of fine style, wearing pendant earring and close fitting helmet, floral scroll, and cheek piece turned up. Reverse $\odot^{A}_{H}$ owl facing, standing on grain of corn, on either side a pellet: the whole between two branches of olive fastened at the top (B. M. C., no 220, pl. VI, 5; 1 gr. 44).

The second coin has on Reverse $\odot^{A}{}_{H}$, owl facing with wings expanded, standing on grain of corn, above on either side a pellet.

These are not exactly like any silver coin, yet they are similar to the triobol and trihemiobol. In size they are however different.

Their size may have been small to enable them to be carried in the mouth.

All the other copper coins Mr. Earle Fox considers were issued after 393 B.C.

We may note that the Trihemiobol of silver disappears then from the series, probably because its copper counterpart had brought it into ill repute, and the Diobol replaces the disused trihemiobol.

The pentobol is of extreme rarity.

The copper coins with the Corinthian helmets certainly precede the issue of the Tetradrachms with the head of Athene Parthenos.

The imitation of the silver types in copper is frequent in the new style.

The copper coins bearing the types of the silver Pentobola

Tetrobola, Triobola and Diobola, were probably issued afterwards in the dark days of the Macedonian supremacy. Daremberg et Saglio give the following table of the proportionate values of the copper coins.

Drachmon	= 48	chalka	= 336	kollyba
Tetrobolon	= 32	—	= 224	—
Triobolon	= 24	—	= 168	—
Diobolon	= 16	—	= 112	—
Trihemiobolon	= 12	—	= 84	—
Obolon	= 8	—	= 56	—
Tritemorion	= 6	—	= 42	
Hemiobolon	= 4	—	= 28	—
Trihemitetartemorion	= 3	—	= 21	—
Tartemorion	= 2	—	= 14	—
Hemitetartemorion	= 1	—	= 7	—

The kollyba were the lepta, according to M. de Prokesch who quotes Plutarch, Sympos IV, 2, Pollux IX, 92. Pollux quotes Callimachus as saying these are the smallest coins.

When we come to look at the coins themselves we see three sizes; the largest, three quarters of an inch in diameter, the second, about five eighths of an inch and the third about half an inch in diameter. The largest were probably the χαλκους, Chalkos, and the other some fractions. Whether those measuring half an inch were the kollyba seems uncertain. Some think they were and that those measuring $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch were the Dikollyba or Tetartemoria.

If the others coins were distinguished, it might have been by the type rather than by size or weight, and it seems impossible to be sure of the names of these copper coins.

Compare the similarity of design on the copper coins of Rome with the variety of types on those of Athens, and the variety of design on the silver coinage of Rome with the sameness of type on that of Athens.

BRONZE COINS. 393-322 B.C.

There are eight types of bronze coins, probably issued between Conon's revival of Athenian prosperity and the supremacy of Alexander the Great.

1. The largest is only $\frac{3}{4}$ of-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Same as on the Drachm.
Rℒ. An owl to right with head facing and wings spread.
2. Five-eighths-of-an-inch in diameter.
Type of the Pentobol.
3. Same size. Type of the Tetrobol.
4. Half-an-inch in diameter. Type of the Triobol.

5. Half-an-inch in diameter. Type öt the Diobol, some with owl with two bodies, some with one öwl to right.
6. Size, Five-eighths-of-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet.
℞. Owl within a corn-wreath.
7. Size, Half-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet.
℞. Owl to right with closed wings, an annulet in field and wreath or symbol Θ^{A}_{E}.
8. Size, Half-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet.
℞. Owl in wreath with closed wings, to left ΑΘΗ.

BRONZE OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

1. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Head of Zeus, late poor style.
℞. Athena Polias.
2. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet.
℞. Zeus Polieus (Pausanias, I, 24, 4).
3. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet.
℞. Zeus Leochares (Pausanias, I, 24, 4).

ELEUSINIAN TYPES.

1. Size, Half-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Demeter in car of snakes.
℞. A Pig, or sometimes two pigs.
2. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Zeus.
℞. Amphora and wreath.
3. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch.
Obv. Pallas in Corinthian helmet.
℞. Demeter standing.
4. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Demeter.
℞. Plemochoë.
5. Size, Half-an-inch in diameter.
Obv. Dolphin and Trident.
℞. Plemochoë.
6. Size, Half-an-inch in diameter
Obv. Head of Zeus.
℞. Plemochoë.
7. Size, Half-an-inch.

Obv. Demeter in serpent car.
Rℒ. Plemochoë.
8. Size, Half-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Artemis.
Rℒ. Plemochoë.
9. Size, Half-an-inch.
Obv. Plemochoë.
Rℒ. Calathus in corn-wreath.
10. Size, Half-an-inch.
Obv. Female Head.
Rℒ. Ears of corn.
11. Size, Three-quarters-of-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Demeter.
Rℒ. Triptolemus.
12. Sizes, Three-quarters-of-an-inch, and also half-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Demeter.
Rℒ. Pig.
13. Size, Five-eighths-of-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Demeter.
Rℒ. A poppy between two ears of barley or bearded wheat.
14. Size, Five-eighths-of-an-inch.
Obv. Triptolemus.
Rℒ. Two ears of corn crossed, AΘE.

CORINTH

As we associate the coins of Athens with Solon and the Peisistratidæ, so we may connect those of Corinth with Periander, and this personal element will add greatly to the interest of our studies. The men who founded the commerce and colonies of Corinth must have been more than ordinarily courageous and enterprising to have braved the perils of the ocean, the only region unclaimed by any earthly ruler. The Pirates looked upon the sea as their own domain; every land was under the sway of some king or tyrant who tried to defend his flock, but those who ventured on the seas were obliged to look to their own defence. In Corinth the old Doric family of the Aletes, after ruling the city for five generations passed away in the middle of the eighth century B.C., giving place to the aristocratic rule of the Bacchiadae. Their lawless government gave way to that of men called Tyrants, raised to power by the people.

The earliest of the Corinthian Tyrants was Cypselus, whose mother was one of the Bacchiadæ; he began to rule in 655 B.C., and his son Periander is said to have introduced the first coinage of the city. During his reign of 40 years Corinth flourished, and he became so famous that he was chosen as arbitrator in a dispute between Athens and Mitylene. The name Psammetichus given to his nephew points to his fame reaching to far off Egypt. Periander's character has been handed down to us by his enemies, so we must look only to the few deeds recorded if we would form any opinion of his character. He was a patron of architecture, sculpture, commerce, and religious ceremonies, the worship of Dionysius is said to have been introduced by him and the Isthmian games promoted. His name appears among those of the seven sages of Greece, but some think this was rather in honour of the city than of the man. A vein of seriousness and sadness pervades the legends of this Tyrant, his private life seems to have been unhappy and his end is clouded in obscurity. After his death the Corinthian aristocracy joined the

Spartan Alliance and the fortunes of Corinth declined for a time. The legends of Periander are related by Herodotus, III, 48, 54, Aristotle Polit., III, 8, 3. Nic. Damas, 59. The story of Periander's life is recorded in chapter XXII of vol. I. Adolf Holm's "History of Greece", p. 315.

The site of Corinth on the isthmus with its two sea-ports, Cenchreæ and Lichaeum, is too well known to need description. From early in the eighth century B.C. Corinth was a centre of commerce, art, and colonial enterprise, hence the need of a coinage must have been keenly felt. The colonies of Corcyra and Syracuse were founded (734 B.C.) about 110 years before Periander introduced his coinage.

It is therefore probable that for about 60 or 70 years the coinage of Aegina was used by the Corinthian merchants. The Corinthian "colts" were earlier than the Athenian "owls", but the "tortoises" of Ægina were the earliest Greek coins. The Corinthians derived their standard for weighing gold and silver from Asia Minor, their unit of weight being the Babylonian stater of 130 grs; they also adopted the Eastern system of dividing by 3 and 6. This division was passed on to the Corinthian colonies in the West, as we may see by the weights of the coins of Croton, Sybaris and Metapontum. The coiners of these cities also copied the flat fabric, and the incuse reverse types of the Corinthian staters.

This system of division by 3 and 6 possessed a practical advantage over the Attic and Æginetic systems because it was thus enabled to pass current in the territories of both its rivals. The Corinthian stater of about 130 grs or 8.40 grammes would pass as a didrachm side by side with the tetradrachms of Athens while the Corinthian drachm ($\frac{1}{2}$ of a stater) of about 94 grs was practically equivalent to an Aeginetic hemidrachm.

Each of the three drachms into which the stater was divided weighed 2.91 grammes, a weight which implies a full stater of 8.73 grammes; it is nearly exactly the weight of the Attic didrachm.

Thus two Corinthian drachms, 5.82 grammes, would be fairly equivalent to one Aeginetic drachm of about 6.30 grammes, at least for purposes of ordinary trade.

The largest Corinthian coin was then a Tridrachm or Stater.

I

THE EARLIEST COINS.

The very rare coins of the time of Periander issued between 625 and 585 B.C. bear on the Obverse, ♀. Pegasus with archaic curled wing.

On the Reverse, Incuse square divided into eight triangular compartments, of which four are in relief.

For an illustration cf. B. M. Guide, Pl. VI, 30.

In the British Museum is a Corinthian stater which bears on the obverse a design which appears to represent a transitional stage between the first and second periods.

II

The coins of the second period from 585 to 500 B.C. bear on the Obverse of the Staters and Drachms ♀; Pegasus with curled wing, and on the Reverse, Incuse pattern in form of the swastika.

The Reverse designs on the second period show that the type grew gradually less distinct until at the end of the period the swastika is only discernible to those who know what to look for or what it was meant to be.

On the half Drachm, Obverse ♀; Halt Pegasus and the same Reverse as the drachms.

On the Obols on Obverse ♀; Pegasus, same Reverse.

On the half Obols, Obverse, Head of Pegasus, same Reverse.

The fabric of these coins is flatter than that of any other money of ancient times except the coinage of the Greek cities of S. Italy derived from it. Some specimens of these coins are common and may be found valued at five shillings.

III

COINS OF THE PERIOD FROM 500 TO 430 B.C.

1. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with curled wing.
   Rℒ. Head of Athena Chalinitis helmeted, in incuse square. In pure Archaic style. Æ. Staters* and Drachms.
2. Obv. Same as n° 1.
   Rℒ. Head of Aphrodite (?) of archaic style, hair turned up behind. Æ. Drachm.
3. Obv. ♀; Half Pegasus with curled wing.
   Rℒ. Head of Athena or same as n° 2. Æ. Hemidrachm.

4. Obv. ♀; Head of bridled Pegasus.
R/. Incuse square containing large Δ. Æ. Diobol.

5. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with curled wings : symbol, trident.
R/. Gorgon head T.P.I.H. in incuse square.
Æ. Trihemiobol.

6. Obv. Head of Pegasus*.
R/. Incuse square containing large H. Æ. Hemiobol.

In this period the flat fabric is abandoned and the coins became smaller in dimension and more compact.

IV

TRANSITIONAL STYLE. CIRC. 430-400 B.C.

1. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with curled wing. B. M. Guide, Plate XIII, 25.
R/. Incuse square. Head of Athena of transitional style (eye in profile) sometimes with symbol, trident or shell behind.
Æ. Stater*.

2. Obv. Same as last.
R/. Incuse square. Head of Aphrodite (?), hair rolled.
Æ. Drachm.

3. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with curled wing.
R/. Same as n° 1. Æ. Stater*.

4. Obv. ♀; Bellerophon naked, and bare-headed, riding on Pegasus.
R/. Incuse square, in which Chimaera to r.
Æ. Trehemidrachm.

5. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with curled wing.
R/. Incuse square, within which head of Aphrodite l. with hair rolled. Æ. Drachm.

6. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with curled wing, symbol vine-branch.
R/. Incuse square. Pegasus prancing, adv. inscr., Δ-I-O.
Æ. Diobol.

The Trihemiobols of this period are of later style, for the Pegasus on the Obverse has pointed wings.

V

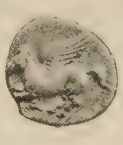
THE FINE STYLE IN B.C. 400 TO 338

1. Obv. ♀; Pegasus, usually flying, with pointed wing.

℞. Head of Athena, of fine style, in Corinthian helmet. In the field, a magistrate's symbol, which was changed probably annually. Æ. Stater [1].

N. B. — On the obverse of some the horse is standing or walking, with curled wing, or attached by a cord to a ring fixed in the wall above him; on some few specimens he is drinking. On the reverse of some, one or more dolphins appear in the field, which cannot be regarded as magistrates' symbols.

2. Obv. ♀; Pegasus with pointed wing.



℞. Head of Aphrodite, variously represented, often with adjunct symbol. Æ. Drachm.

3. Obv. ♀; Half Pegasus with curled wing.
℞. Head of Aphrodite, her hair variously dressed.
Æ. Hemidrachm.

4. Obv. Pegasus with curled wing.
℞. Pegasus with curled wing, prancing or trotting, sometimes with dolphin, or inscr. Δ-Ι-Ο. Æ. Diobol.

5. Obv. Pegasus with curled or with pointed wing.
℞. Cross of Swastika form. Æ. Obol.

6. Obv. Identical.
℞. Trident. Æ. Obol.

VI

FROM 338 TO CIRC. 243 B.C.

The coins of this period may be distinguished by the presence of the magistrates' letters or monograms in the field on the Reverse, in addition to the symbol. These coins, like the earlier, always have the letter ♀ on the Obverse. The approximate probable dates of each magistrate are given on pp. 337, 338. Head, *Hist. Num.*

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1. The coins marked with an asterisk may be obtained from five shillings and under, in fair state of preservation.

BRONZE COINS.

The earliest appear to have been issued about 400 B.C.

I. 5 gr. Obv. Pegasus. — Rℒ. Trident, letters, symbols.

II. 75 gr. Obv. Head of Athena. — Rℒ. Trident, ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ.

III. 55 gr. Head of Athena. — Rℒ. Pegasus. K.

IV. 8 gr. Head of Poseidon. — Bellerophon on Pegasus ♀;

V. 55 gr. Head of bearded Heracles. — Rℒ. ♀; Forepart of Pegasus.

From 338 Corinth was occupied by Macedonian troops until 243 B.C. when it was delivered by Aratus. The Pegasus staters however seem to have been struck during this period but not in such numbers as before. In 223 B.C. Corinth was surrendered by the Achaean League to Antigonus Doson, and from that time no money was allowed to be issued until 196 B.C. when it was set free by the Romans and reunited to the League. Perhaps however the Bronze coins with the heads of Poseidon and Heracles belong to this period.

In 146 B.C. Corinth was taken by the Romans under Mummius and remained in ruins until Julius Cæsar in 46 B.C. sent a colony to reside there, when the city again began to flourish. The coins issued after that period bear Latin legends and are hardly to be accounted as Greek coins.

THE COLONIES OF CORINTH.

When the nobles had put an end to the monarchy the new aristocracy seems to have been less friendly to the poorer classes than the kings had been, hence arose the desire for emigration, and many of the nobles who were dissatisfied were glad to take the lead in such an enterprise. Corinth as the mother city of Colonies took an active part in the suppression of piracy; it is therefore a serious fault in the list of states which ruled the seas given by Diodorus that Corinth is not mentioned.

The Corinthian Pegasus staters after the middle of the fourth century B.C. came into general use in the western parts of Greece, in Bruttium and in Sicily. For about a hundred years these coins were issued in large numbers chiefly for the trade with Italy and Sicily where the largest finds of these coins have been discovered.

Although the Pegasus coins were common to about twenty cities there is no reason to suppose that the use of this type implied any treaties between Corinth and the towns adopting this symbol. The choice of the type was most probably made independently by each city on account of its being generally known and received with readiness. In the same way many cities of Asia adopted the design of Alexander's well-known coinage.

In the early period, however, Anactorium, Leucas and Ambracia being daughter cities of Corinth may not have had a free choice. These are the only cities which issued staters of the transitional and early fine style of Art.

Epidamnus, Argos-Amphilochicum, and Alyzia followed their example from 350 to 250 B.C. Dr Imhoof-Blumer has pointed out that these coins within the limits of Acarnania became a quasi-federal Acarnanian coinage, while outside those limits they would circulate as a generally recognized international currency.

NAMES OF THE COLONIES.

In ACARNANIA. Alyzia, Anactorium, Argos-Amphilochicum, Astacus, Coronea, Leucas, Metropolis, Palaerus (?), Phytra, Thyrrheium, Acarnanian federal coins, struck in Leucas.

In CORCYRA. In EPIRVS, Ambracia, Epirote, Federal, probably from Ambracia.

In ILLYRIA. Apollonia, Epidamnus, Dyrrhachium.

In SICILY. Eryx, Leontini, Syracuse.

In BRUTTIUM, Locri-Epizephyrii, Mesma, Rhegium and Terina.

THE OBVERSE TYPE.

The winged-horse Pegasus, on the Obverse of the Corinthian coinage, is connected with many diverse myths and legends which, although different in local origin and in date, yet gradually became confused and welded together to form the well-known legend of the Corinthian hero Bellerophon. It is perhaps impossible to determine what the symbol of the winged horse meant to the citizens of the days of Periander. The earliest poet who wrote about the subject was the author of the Theogonia (a follower of Hesiod) who wrote about a hundred years before the coins were designed, and even then the legend was confused with that of Perseus and Chrysaor. Pindar who wrote about 160 years after the first issue of the coins completes the fusion of the myths. It seems probable that the sea-faring merchants of Corinth in the days of Periander chose the symbol of Pegasus rather as an emblem of Poseidon than as the expression of the complicated ideas of the learned author of the Theogonia, who was a Boeotian poet.

If the Corinthian hero Bellerophon was associated with the horse, he was a son of Glaucus, and that is but a name of Poseidon.

The Corinthian seamen knew well the strength of the white horses of the main, and some think the very name Pegasus may be derived from the root πηγ (πηγνυμι). Homer applies this root to describe strong horses in Iliad, IX, 124, where the horses of Agamemnon are called ἵππους πηγοὺς.

The use of the symbol may have been suggested by gems obtained either from Greek traders with the islands off the coast of Asia Minor or from the Phœnicians.

In the Gem room at the British Museum we may see fine archaic gems engraved with the form of Pegasus, adorned with curled wings like those on the earliest coins ; they are in the case marked " U, from the Greek islands".

The meaning of the symbol was purely a Greek creation, and was wholly unconnected with the ideas which may have been in the minds of those Asiatics who created the art form (Layard's, Mon. of Nineveh, 1 pl. 44).

Pegasus is not the only mythical equine son of Poseidon, there was also Arion, the colt borne by Demeter, but this is only mentioned here as evidence of the strong impression the symbol of a horse had made upon the Greek mind. Their vivid imagination and poetic instinct could hardly fail to produce a myth concerning the birth of such a colt. On an ancient Boeotian amphora of the seventh century B.C. Medusa the mother of Pegasus is represented with the head of a woman but the body of a mare, and Perseus is seen on the point of cutting off her head. Here we see on the amphora the same fusion of the legend of Perseus which we meet with in the Theogonia, but there in the poem we have added the Carian legend of Chrysaor of the golden falchion. The poem is illustrated by a small terra-cotta figure from Melos in the Terra-cotta room at the British Museum, division n° 8.

In the Terra-cotta figure Medusa has a winged human body and from the severed neck Chrysaor is seen arising.

The oldest representation of the birth of Pegasus is the well-known Metope of Selinus in Sicily, a colony founded in 628 B.C. on which we see to the left the figure of Athene standing facing ; in the centre is a rude herculean figure of Perseus with the head facing, the left arm stretched out grasping the hair of the Medusa and the right hand holding the sword which is plunged into the neck. The form of Medusa is human, very coarse and with a huge head and mouth facing, she is kneeling on the right knee and holding under the right arm a figure of Pegasus, whose hind legs are on the ground and fore legs in the arms of the mother (Confer the Illustrations, p. 2031 of Roscher Lexikon).

On a cylinder in Berlin (B. Corr. Hell., 12, 1898, S. 452, fig. 4) Perseus is represented in the act of seizing Medusa, whose form is human, on either side are fishes which may refer to the ocean.

On a vessel called the vase of Amasis, from the potter's name (Brit. Mus. Cat. 2 B. 471.), is another representation rather more developed.

Recently a Theban vase in relief has been made known on which Medusa appears as a female centaur (Bull. de Corr. Hell., 22, 1898, pl. 5). The head is facing and as ugly as the other early heads. Perseus has seized her by the hair and is in the act of cutting off her head, his own being turned back. The myth of Medusa in the form of a mare or a centaur is parallel with that of Melanippe, the daughter of Cheiron (Hygin. Fab., 86).

In all these early carvings Perseus is the hero, but from the poems of Pindar, who studied local legends, it is evident that if any mortal hero was associated with Pegasus by the Corinthians it was Bellerophon rather than Perseus.

Those who wish to study the Perseus legend may find much of interest in the work of Mr. E. S. Hartland "The legend of Perseus" in the Grimm Library, n° 2. Published by David Nutt, 1894.

The genealogy of Bellerophon is related by Homer in lib. VI, 155.

"There is a city in the deep recess of Pastoral Argos, Ephyre, by name. There Sisyphus of old his dwelling had, of mortal men the craftiest; Sisyphus, the son of Æolus; to him was born Glaucus; and Glaucus in his turn begot Bellerophon on whom the gods bestowed the gifts of beauty and of manly grace."

Pindar calls the son of Glaucus Hipponous (Olym. XIII, 66), a name suggesting connection with a horse. Pindar implies that Hipponous or Bellerophon was a son of Poseidon, for Glaucus is an epithet of the sea.

The earliest legend as given in Homer concerning Bellerophon, grand-son of Sisyphus, the founder of Corinth, is as follows: Bellerophon was the slayer of Bellerus, a Corinthian noble. On account of that death he fled to Proetus, the king of Argos, whose wife accused him of immoral overtures, thus causing a further flight.

Proetus sent him to Lycia with a death-token as an intr oduc tion. The king of Lycia therefore appointed him the task ofslaying the Chimæra, and after that, various other dangerous tasks-which were all accomplished, and the hero received the king', daughter in marriage as his reward. In Homer's poem however nos mention is made of Pegasus.

The Greeks reverently considered that such deeds implied supernatural strength and divine aid, and this was symbolized by the strength of a horse.

In the Theogonia we have the myth of the origin of Pegasus, but even there we have no mention of wings, and from the bas-relief of Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra dated 480 B.C. in the Brit. Museum Terra-cotta room we see that the legend was even then illustrated by a wingless steed. The passage in the Theogonia which implies wings and a flight from earth is thought by Paley and Goettling to be a later insertion.

It may be interesting to those who have not a copy of Hesiod to give here the Rev. J. Banks's translation of the poet's words. After describing the three Gorgons he says of Medusa: "She was mortal, but the other two were immortal and ageless, and it was with Medusa that the azure-haired god lay in the soft meadow amid the flowers of spring. From her too when, as the tale is, Perseus had cut off the head, up sprang huge Chrysaor and the steed Pegasus."

"To the latter came his name, because I wot he was born near the springs of Ocean, while the other had a golden falchion in his hands.

"And he indeed winging his flight away left earth, the mother of flocks, and came to the immortals, in Jove's house he dwells, bearing to the counsellor Jove thunder and lightning."

Other winged beings are described by this poet, especially the Harpies, Nike, Eros, Erinnys, Hypnos, Boreas, &c.

It is to Pindar we owe the local Corinthian legend.

The first mention of the winged Pegasus is in Pindar's songs celebrating the victory of Zenophon, the Corinthian victor in the games in 464 B.C., and (in Isthmia VI, 44) celebrating the victory of the pancratist Strepsiades the Theban in 456 B.C.

A few years later we find a reference to Pegasus with wings in Euripides, Ion, 202, ἵππος πτερόεις.

Pindar's legend is a creation of the Corinthian mind, a reference to the help given their popular hero by the divine powers. Poseidon's help was symbolized by the horse, but the horse had been used also as a symbol of the power of Zeus, whose thunderbolts were carried by such a creature, and the idea of mere strength was supplemented by the introduction of Athene, the representative of divine wisdom, assisting in applying and using the strength.

Pindar praises the Corinthians as ever helping the victory whether led by Glaucus among the Lycians or by Agamemnon. (Trans. by E. A. Paley, M. A. Williams & Norgate, 1868.) "And Glaucus who had come from Lycia was dreaded by the Danai. To them he declared that in the city of Peirene his father held rule with a rich portion of land and a palace; that hero who once in his eager desire to harness the offspring of the snaky Gorgon, Pegasus, at Peirene's spring, endured many trials, till at last the maiden Pallas brought

him a bridle with a frontlet of gold; and from a dream forthwith it proved a reality.

For she called to him and said, "Sleepest thou Aeolid King? Come, take this horse-charm, and show it to your sire, Poseidon the horse-breaker, with the sacrifice of a white bull." Such were the words which the maid of the sable ægis seemed to say to him as he slumbered in the dark.

"And up he sprang on feet erect, and seizing the divine gift that lay by him, he found to his delight a seer residing in the land, and showed to him, the son of Coeranus, the whole issue of the affair; how he had slept on the altar of the goddess at night from his prophetic warning, and how the daughter of Zeus, lancer of the thunderbolt, had with her own hands given him the spirit-taming gold. The seer bade him comply at once with the dream, and that when he should have slain a horny-hoofed bull to the widely ruling Holder of Earth, he should forthwith set up an altar to the equestrian goddess Athene.

"The power of a god brings about an easy accomplishment beyond one's oath or even one's hope. So in truth did the sturdy Bellerophon with eager haste take captive the winged steed by tying the gentle remedy round his jaw; and at once he mounted him and disported himself in full brazen armour; with him too on one occasion he smote and slew from the bosom of the cold desert air the female host of Amazon archers, the fire-breathing Chimæra, and the Solymi.

"Of his fate I will say nothing, but the steed found an abode in the ancient stalls of Zeus in Olympus."

Pindar, in a brief line in Isth. VI, 42-51 describes the fate of the rider: "We know that the winged Pegasus threw his master Bellerophon when he wanted to reach the stations in Heaven to join the goodly company of Zeus. Unlawful pleasures a most bitter end awaits, even the pleasures of knowledge of good and evil."

According to Euripides (fragm.) the hero fell into the sea near Corinth, but there is another legend which locates his fall at Tarsus in Cilicia, and we find Pegasus represented on coins of that city (Head, H. Num., p. 613).

The type of Pegasus, being the figure of an animal, does not give such scope for the exhibition of the development of artistic treatment of the dies as the human head or figure, and it is chiefly in the treatment of the wings that the later artists differed from the earlier.

Pegasus is only one of a group of winged creatures, such as the sphinx, the griffin, the capricorn, or winged goat, the winged lion, and winged sea-horses, which were popular about the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries before Christ in Asia Minor and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

Asia Minor is the site of the legends of Bellerophon as given by Homer; we should therefore expect to find references to the story on Asiatic coins. We see Pegasus on some coins of Tarsus where some said Bellerophon fell, and of Bargylus, where the following story was current: Pegasus had killed Bargylus, the friend of Bellerophon, when he tried to capture him; as a compensation for this Bellerophon gave the town the name of his friend. On coins of Lycia of 480 B.C. and of Alabanda 280-260 B.C, and on coins of Stratoniceia in 1st or 2nd century B.C. Pegasus is found.

The later symbolic uses of the Pegasus design are not connected with the Corinthian coinage, but they are interesting, especially the use of the symbol to express immortality, as on the monuments of the dead.

The fable that Pegasus returned to dwell with Zeus led to the representation of his assisting in the apotheosis of Tiberius, as on the great Paris cameo.

The Pegasus on the large oblong bronze pieces of Rome may refer to the Corinthian descent of Tarquinius Priscus; confer p. 62 of the English translation of Signor Gnecchi's work on Roman Coins, where a fine illustration is given; the wing is pointed but the feathers formed in stiff archaic manner.

The symbolic use of the winged horse as the horse of the Muses and fountains of water is also a later treatment of the symbol than anything seen on the Corinthian coins, and therefore beyond our present subject.

As the Chimaera appears but rarely on the Corinthian coinage, any discussion of its origin may be deferred until its appearance on a common coin is described.

THE REVERSE TYPE.

The Epic poet Eumelus, one of the Corinthian Bacchiadæ, traced the history of Corinth to a period earlier than that of Sisyphus. He relates how the gods themselves, Poseidon and Helios, contended for the land, and how as a reward from Briarius Poseidon obtained the isthmus and Helios the rock now called Acro-Corinthus, but which was then called Ephyra, after the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys.

The choice of the designs for the types of the Corinthian coins seems to have been made in harmony with the legend of Eumelus, for we have on the Obverse the emblem of Poseidon, and on the Reverse that of Helios.

The device called the Swastica seems almost universally acknowledged as an emblem of solar influences.

The Reverse type on the Corinthian Coins of the period from 585 to 500 B.C. is thus described by Dr Head, "Incuse pattern in form of the swastika."

This is the Sanscrit name of the most ancient symbol which was widely spread in the prehistoric world, and the derivation of the word shows the meaning attached to the symbol in ancient India.

The word is made from "su" the same as the Greek "εὖ" and "asti" the same as "ἔστι" with an adjectival suffix "κα" added. It has ever been regarded as an expression of good luck or well being. Although the symbol has been found in all parts of Europe, in Asia Minor, and the Greek islands, we know of no ancient European word expressing its meaning, and the Anglo-Saxon word "fylfot" which expresses only its form of "many feet" is the only ancient word we know except the Indian "Swastica". In France it is known by the modern name croix gammée.

The most recent and best work on the subject is by Thomas Wilson, Curator of the department of prehistoric Anthropology U. S. National Museum. It is part of the report of the U. S. N. Museum for 1894, pages 757 to 1041. It may be obtained in England at W. Wesley and Son, 28 Essex St., Strand. W. The pages are well illustrated with good woodcuts and there are also several plates of photographs. The illustrations show specimens of the symbol from China, Japan, India, Caucasus, Asia Minor, the various cities on the site of Troy, Greek pottery found in Egypt, Asia Minor, Athens, Boeotia, Cyprus, Thera (Santorin), Melos, Rhodes. Europe in the Bronze age is illustrated from the hut urns of Etruria, Cumæ, Cervetri, Albano, Bologna, Swiss lake dwellings, of Bourget in Savoy, Alsace, Wurtemberg, Mayence, North Germany, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Scandinavia, Toulouse, Tarbolton in Scotland, Ireland, England, and even some bronze ingots from Ashantee. These illustrations prove the universality of the use of the symbol among the Aryan races.

One sentence from the preface will show the value of the work and clear the way for a definite line of study concerning facts rather than fancies. "No conclusion is attempted as to the time or place of origin, because these are considered to be lost in antiquity. The straight line, the circle, the cross, the triangle are simple forms easily made, and might have been invented and reinvented in every age of primitive man, and in every quarter of the globe, each time being an independent invention meaning much or little, meaning different things among different peoples, or at different times among the same people, or they may have had no settled or definite meaning. But the Swastica was probably the first to be made with a definite intention and a continuous or consecutive meaning, the knowledge of which passed from nation to nation until, with possibly changed meanings, it has finally circled the globe." Before studying the symbol with Mr. Wilson's admirable guidance we must here note that in regard to the device on the Corinthian coinage he considers

it is not a true swastica form because the lines do not cross one another at the centre.

He considers this type to be a mere ornamental "punch mark", consisting of four gammas, each separate from its fellow. Mr. Wilson does not consider the various cross markings in the incuse square punch marks to be related to the Swastica, neither does he think the Triskelis is related to the Swastica. But Mr. William Sampson in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, January 1895, pp. 84, 85 suggests that "the importance of the cardinal points in primitive symbolism appears to have been very great and has not as yet been fully realized. The wheel was in India a symbol of a universal monarch ruling the four quarters of the earth. I am inclined to think the Swastica as a cross represented the four quarters over which the solar power by its revolving motion carried its influence." Mr. R. P. Greg writing in the *Archæologia*, XLIII, pt. 2, p. 326, says: "It was evidently more connected with the cross than the circle or solar disk." He looks upon it as a purely Aryan symbol.

Mr. Greg thinks the Swastica was the symbol of the Aryan air-god and was derived from the forked lightning, and signified the supreme god of the earliest Aryans. Dr H. Colley March thinks the Swastica signified the celestial pole round which the stars of heaven moved, the seven plowing oxen dragged the stars round the pole, so it was called ἑλίκη.

Next to Mr. Wilson's work, that of the Comte Goblet d'Alviella is perhaps the most interesting: it is entitled "La Migration des symboles" and was published by E. Leroux, Paris, rue Bonaparte 28, in 1891. The Swastica is treated in the second chapter consisting of 68 pages, with woodcuts of coins and carvings and two plates. The name given by him to the device is the "croix gammée", because it is composed of a cross the limbs of which are the Greek letters Gamma placed together.

D'Alviella considers the device on the Corinthian coins to be a true "croix gammée". He notes the curious fact of its absence from Roman remains and the fact that it is not found among Phoenician objects of art, nor in Assyria, nor Egypt.

The Comte considers there is ample proof that the symbol was used as an amulet or talisman, a sign of good luck, but in order to attain to this use it must have been associated rightly or wrongly with some phenomena or power having an influence upon human destinies. He mentions several ideas put forward, as for instance that it is a sign of fecundity, or the female sex, or that it is a sign of flowing water, or of the lightning, or the element fire, or the supreme god of the Aryans, but he concludes by agreeing with Ludvig Müller, Percy Gardner, S. Beal, E. B. Thomas, Max Muller,

H. Gaidoz and others, that the Swastica is a solar emblem or the emblem of a solar deity. Hence he derives the common superstitious use of the emblem to signify good luck. He differs from Mr. Wilson in considering the Triskelis as a development of the Swastika, and says the symbol is found very often in connection with undoubted solar emblems.

The connection of the symbol with horses is interesting in regard to its appearance on the coins of Corinth.

On p. 839 of Mr. Wilson's work is an illustration of a Greek vase with figures of three horses on the top and Swasticas round the sides, found at Athens.

On p. 841 is a figure of a horse on a terra cotta vase with the Swastica above, and on the next page is the detail of a Greek geometric vase with two figures of horses, a Swastica under one, and over the other animal. It is in the Leyden Museum, and comes from Thera. The Swastica also appears on a Greek vase bearing a winged sphinx, from Melos, p. 846. The figure of a horse is also seen on a Boeotian vase with a solar disk above the horse, and a Swastica in front with a plain cross over the head. Artemis and geese are on the other side with Swasticas. Geese are often found in connection with this symbol.

The Swastica also appears on a figure of the chariot of Apollo Resef with four horses, and Apollo and Hercules in the chariot, p. 853.

The connection of the symbol with the coins of Corinth may be understood as the combination of a symbol of Poseidon, the ruler of the sea, with the other symbol of the god of the heavens by which sailors guide their ships, and perhaps with the added idea of good luck, for the symbol was sometimes placed on prows of ships.

There is an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (vol. 20 of New Series) by the late Ed. Thomas entitled " the Indian Swastica and its Western counterparts", but it does not afford any help to the study of the western counterparts. Mr. Thomas maintains that the symbol is a primitive conception representing solar motion.

He evidently considers the Swastica is in some way connected with the Triskelis, but the Swastica is much more ancient and cannot be considered as being derived from the Triskelis.

Mr. G. F. Hill in a note on p. 11 of his work on the Coinage of Lycia says: " I do not know why the form Triskelis has taken such firm root in Numismatic English. There is no Greek or Latin authority for such a form. The word Triquetra, again, which is often used to describe the symbol, whether the members take the shape of feet or not, means properly a triangular object."

We meet with the Triskelis on coins of Lycia, and M. L. Müller of Copenhagen, 1877, proves this Lycian symbol to be a solar

emblem symbolizing rotatory motion, the symbol of the Lycian god Apollo λύκιος, the god of light.

The Lycian symbol is on some coins formed of three cocks' heads, and as these birds welcome the advent of the sun, they are appropriate enough. This coinage is dated 450 B. C., or a little earlier. The Triskelis formed of human legs is found on coins issued in 480 B.C. by Derronikos, a Thraco-Macedonian chief. and also on Pamphilian coins of Aspendus, issued in 500 B.C. (Head's, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 180 & 581).

This Triskelis is also found on a coin of Ægina in the British Museum (Head, p. 332), on a coin of Hierapytna, in 400 B C. (Head, p. 397), on a coin mentioned as doubtful in the cabinet of Dr Weber, of Phaselis in 500 B.C. (Head, p. 579), on a coin of Euboea in 197 B.C. (Beulé, p. 19; Head, p. 309).

The Triskelis appears as a symbol on a coin of Etenna in 300 B.C. (Head, p. 583).

The Triskelis with a head of Medusa in the centre appears also on a bronze coin of Panormus in Sicily (Head, p. 143) after 254 B.C.

The form of the symbol called the Swastica on the Corinthian coinage is perhaps a ruder and less developed form of the same symbol called Triskelis and certainly lends itself to the idea of a representation of rotatory motion.

The Corinthian Reverse type has also been thought to be akin to some of the designs founds in the incuse squares on many early coins, but unless there is a star or sun plainly visible the mere square or triangular divisions of the early incuse squares is not considered by all as a solar emblem.

Their probable origin is, as Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has explained (p. 11, *Coins & Medals*) the mark made by the anvil which gripped the coin for the smiting of the Obverse type. The square shape was most convenient and the idea of making this indentation ornamental was gradually developed. The squares and triangles on some coins are made incuse at angles giving the effect of mill-sails, and these are called mill-sail patterns not because there is any idea of the rotatory motion of the sails, but merely as a modern convenient description of a form.

Yet some think this cross was an early form of the Swastica, which the mill-sail square design, in some lights, very much resembles.

It is apparently proved that solar emblems are found on the reverses of ancient Greek coins apart from the special forms called Triskelis or Triquetra.

In volume XX of the *Num. Chronicle* of 1880, New Series, p. 237, there is a notice of the coins of Mesembria, on which we see a radiate wheel representing the midday sun, μεσημβρια, from which

the name of the city is derived. Confer plate IV, n° 19. Dr Ramsay however says βεια means " town ". Confer also the article called " Ares as a sun-god and solar symbols " on the coins of Macedon and Thrace, p. 49 of the same volume.

When Corcyra, on the death of Periander, became independent of Corinth in 585 B.C., it began to issue coins bearing on the Reverse either two incuse oblong quadrilateral patterns with stars, or a star in an incuse square. Professor Gardner considers these to be solar emblems connected with the worship of Zeus Aristaeus, or Apollo Nomios. Some of the drachms of circ. 300 B.C. bear only a star, and KOPKYPAI on the Reverse. On some of the coins of Miletus are three incuse squares, one of which is elongated, and on some of these squares is a star. On the Obverse of some of the coins of Miletus is a figure of either a star or a sun over a lion's head.

This coinage of Miletus is among the earliest of the ancient world, and dates from about the year 700 B. C. This is proof enough that the symbol of the sun was used by the Greeks ; and the Triskelis, and the similar form of the device on the Corinthian coinage, may reasonably be considered to represent a solar emblem.

It does not however follow that the divisions of the incuse squares so frequently seen on other early coins are to be classed also as solar emblems, for they may be merely ornamental devices.

We find incuse squares divided into four squares on coins of Syracuse, Macedon, Acanthus, Abdera, Thasos, Byzantium and Naxos. These squares are divided diagonally on coins of Potidaea and Chalcis, and into eight triangles on coins of Himera, Boeotia, Aegina, Carthea, Ceos and Siphnos. The squares are divided into six triangles on coins of Paros and into twelve triangles on coins of Selinus. We have seen that apart from these square forms there is evidence of solar symbolism on some of the coins, but it does not follow that this symbol was derived from India as Mr. Thomas implies.

It is quite probable that the Aryan races of the West adopted such a simple symbol without connection with their eastern brethren, and no one has shown any evidence of communication at that date between India and Asia Minor.

We know it was not taken either to or from India by the Egyptian or Semitic races ; Comte d'Alviella says the sign is found in the Caucasus district, but we have no knowledge of a trade route there with India.

The Indian name Swastica is therefore a modern application of an Indian name to a Greek design, and we are unfortunately ignorant of the name given to the device by the Greeks.

In conclusion we may note the following questions raised and

answered. Is the R/. type of the Corinthian coinage a decorative device or a symbol? We notice that all early types are symbolic and generally simple enough to be easily understood even now, this is therefore most probably a symbol.

Has not this device often been found on vases where it is apparently a merely decorative pattern? Yes, but on a coin it is more likely to be a symbol, and its use as a symbol on images of deities as Apollo is widely recognized.

Is there any connection between this Swastika symbol and the millsail pattern? On some coins of Terone the millsail pattern suggests the Swastika especially when deeply indented, and the objection of Mr. Wilson to the Corinthian device being a Swastika, on account of the cross lines not crossing exactly, is obviated by considering the device a development from the millsail pattern, on which the centre cross is raised and the shadows of the deep indenture fall on either side of the centre lines.

Is the symbol on the Corinthian coins a solar emblem? The poem of Eumelus which speaks of Poseidon and Helios as the earliest deities of Corinth suggests to us that the symbol may have have been chosen by the Corinthians because it was a solar emblem, especially when we see how many students of ancient symbolism attribute this meaning to that symbol The form so suggestive of circular motion is most probably the form from which the Triskelis was developed, and that symbol was evidently a solar emblem.

On the earliest coins no doubt the triangular indentated device was that of the spike or anvil on which the hot bullet-shaped piece of weighed metal was placed ready to be struck with the hammer giving the obverse device, but in the British Museum is a very early coin with the Reverse type in a transitional design between the earliest form and the Swastika type showing how early the idea was entertained of making the Reverse type a symbol.

AEGINA

Some few of the old silver "tortoise" coins of Aegina may fortunately be obtained for a few shillings, for they are rich in associations beyond those of most Greek cities, bringing before our minds the myths and legends of Aegina preserved in the pages of Pausanias and Herodotus; stories of the struggles between East and West, and of wars waged for supremacy on the seas. They are interesting as being specimens from the first mint established in Europe, and as being the first silver coins ever struck, for the older coins of Asia Minor were of the metal called electrum, a mixture of silver and gold.

The study of the "tortoises" will lead us along four different lines of thought; geographical, biographical, archæological, and mythological, and we shall thus be led to picture to ourselves the island site of the first mint, the life of the king under whom it was established, the commercial system of weights he introduced, and the religious ideas represented by the first type.

Aegina, the site of the first European mint, is an island lying about 12 miles south of Athens, and 15 north of Epidaurus, in the Saronic gulf, from the shores of which the hills of the island are visible. Ægina is said to contain about thirty-three square miles; in shape it is a rough triangle about 22 miles in circumference; its western part is a fertile plain, the rest being hilly and unproductive, while the coasts are dangerous from sunken rocks and shallows. Pausanias gives us a sketch of its earliest days (B^k II, c. xxix). "They say at first it was uninhabited, but when Zeus brought Aegina the daughter of Asopus to the desert island its name was changed from Oenone to Aegina. Being grown to man's estate Aeacus asked Zeus for inhabitants, so Zeus caused people to spring up from the ground; afterwards, some of those Argives, who under the command of Deiphontes had seized Epidaurus, crossed over to Aegina and settling among the old inhabitants, established Dorian customs and language in the island."

Herodotus also tells us of the naming of the island from the daughter of the River-god, " when the Thebans were told by the Pythian to get the help of their nearest friends, they concluded the men of Aegina were meant, because Thebe and Aegina were the daughters of Asopus".

Aeacus, the son of Aegina, became the patron deity of the early islanders. Ovid (in *Metam.*, VII) tells a similar story of the replenishing of the isle with men, but he makes a plague to be the cause of the lack of population, and says Zeus made men from ants.

The myth may be an attempt to explain the colonization of the isle from Thessaly, the seat of the Myrmidons, and another myth, connecting Zeus with the ants, arose in connection with Eurymedusa.

That the inhabitants of the historical period were Dorians we also learn from Herodotus (VIII, 46). " The Aeginetæ are Dorians from Epidaurus ". From the life of Pheidon we learn that when he united the states once ruled by the Heracleidæ, he obtained rule over Aegina, and under his government the island rose in power to be stronger than Corinth or Athens in regard to her navy and sea-commerce, and for nearly 300 years Aegina ruled the eastern Greek seas.

In the seventh century B. C. the merchants of Aegina were united with those inhabiting the towns on the Saronic gulf in maintaining the worship of Poseidon at Calauria near Troezen.

Pausanias (VIII, 5-8) tells us that when Pompos reigned over Arcadia the Aeginetans freighted vessels to Cyllene in Elis and sent their wares over land into Arcadia. Herodotus (IV, 152) mentions the enormous profits made by an Aeginetan merchant named Sostratus, son of Laodamas, with whom no other merchant could compete. Apuleius (*Metam.*, I, 4) gives us a reference to a trader from Aegina travelling all over Greece.

Not long before the accession of Peisistratus in 560 B. C. the Athenians invaded Aegina, but were repulsed with Argive help. Peisistratus avoided war with the islanders, and courted the friendship of Argos, but recent excavations show that the Aeginetans refused to trade with Athens, no contemporary Athenian pottery being found in the excavations of the temple of Hera.

The first period of the coinage came to an end in 550 B. C. Aristotle refers to the great number of slaves in the island and to its wealth. During this time of prosperity they founded colonies in Crete and Umbria, and they had a depôt or factory in Egypt, at Naucratis, where they built a temple tô Zeus (Herodotus II, 178). Their great war with Athens was carried on from 506 to 498 B. C. In 506 B. C. the islanders threw off the yoke of Epidaurus and stole from thence the olive-wood images of gods made from the sacred

grove in Athens. The Athenians then tried to take these images but were repulsed.

In 491, the year before the battle of Marathon, the men of Aegina received the envoys of Darius, probably influenced more by their hatred of Athens than by fear of Persia. The Athenians called on the Spartans, as head of the Peloponnesian League, to punish the Aeginetans, and the Spartans sent their kings Cleomenes, and Demaratus to Aegina, but Demaratus opposed his colleague, and finding his opposition of no avail, fled to Darius. Cleomenes returned to Aegina with his new colleague Leotychides, and sent ten of the principal men of Aegina as hostages to Athens. On the death of Cleomenes some of the chief men of Aegina went to Athens with Leotychides to ask for the return of the ten hostages ; on their request being refused, the war was continued.

About this time an Aeginetan citizen, Nicodromus, plotted with the men of Athens to overthrow the oligarchical government of the island, but their plans were frustrated. Themistocles now prepared the great fleet which ultimately crushed Aegina. In 483 B. C. a rich bed of silver was discovered at Maroneia, near Laurium, and the Athenians were thus enabled to build their fleet.

Three years afterwards the Athenians were reconciled with Aegina, and thus gained the support of their powerful navy in the fight with Xerxes off Salamis. The third period of the coinage began in 480 B. C., the shell of the tortoises being marked as in nature, not dotted. After that victory the Aeginetans received the richest part of the spoil of the Persians on account of their bravery, and dedicated in the temple of Delphi three golden stars on a mast of bronze.

The sculptors of Aegina commemorated the struggle with the East, by figures illustrating the Trojan wars in the Doric temple of Athena, the columns of which still remain. Many of the women of Athens were sent to Aegina for safety, when the Persian hosts arrived, just before the battle of Salamis. In 479 B. C. Leontychides assembled his fleet at Aegina and sailed thence to Delos. Twenty years later war broke out again and in 458 B. C. another naval battle was fought near Aegina between the Athenians and the islanders.

In this war the Corinthians and men of Epidaurus fought with the Aeginetans against Athens, but in 556 B.C. Aegina was taken, and became from that time a part of the Athenian state. This was the last year of the third period of the coinage. During the years 456 to 431 B.C. a few coins were issued bearing a similar type to the last, but with the letters A.I. added on either side of the tortoise.

In 431 B.C. the islanders were exiled from their homes and the Spartans allowed them to live in Thyrea; the island being

given up to the Athenians until 404 B. C., when the Aeginetans were sent back by Lysander.

As soon as they returned they began at once to issue a new coinage with the former types; and this series may be distinguished by a more flat or spread fabric, and by bearing letters on one or both sides.

In 406 B. C. bronze coins were first issued in Aegina.

Aegina was again used as a base by the Spartans in 392 B. C. in their war with Athens which ended in the peace arranged by king Artaxerxes in 387 B. C. So great was the fall of Aegina from wealth and power that Sulpicius in his letter to Cicero speaks of it as a famous example of fallen greatness.

There is an interesting French work on Aegina by Le Puillon de Boblaye published in 1825 and also a rather dry work in Latin by Carl Ottfried Müller, published in 1817, called "Aegineticorum Liber". In English we have only the article "Aegina" in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography.

PHEIDON.

The man who introduced coinage to Europe deserves to be enrolled among the great, yet how few have more than a dim impression connected with his name.

He was not numbered among the seven sages of Greece, although Periander and Solon obtained that honour. Like other great men he was able to see and seize upon the opportunities given by the circumstances of his time. In order to understand what they were, we must look back to the early days of the Dorian settlements in the Peloponnesus about 1000 B. C. The Dorian kings, who settled in Argolis, traced their descent from the original conquerors, the Heracleidæ, a simple manly race with sufficient intelligence to adopt the civilization of those they conquered: a civilization of no mean order as we may see by the remains of Mycenæ and Tiryns. The Spartan Dorians, who settled further south, rejected that civilization and gradually became more powerful than their more complaisant brethren. For some generations the various cities of Argolis were united in a federation which, however, had been broken up when Pheidon began to reign, probably about 750 B. C. According to Ephorus of Cumæ, Pheidon was the tenth in the succession of the kings of Argos. His wisdom and power were shown in his success in reuniting the divided cities, and by the encouragement given by him to the commerce with the Greeks of Asia Minor.

The story related by Pausanias that Pheidon presided over the Olympian games in 748 B. C. illustrates his encouragement of all that tended to unity; these gatherings for religious ceremonies and

games helping much the union of the various states competing. Herodotus, however, referring to this year calls Pheidon "the most insolent of all the Greeks who, having removed the Eleian umpires, regulated the games of Olympia" (VI, 127). Corinth was subject to him, but the Spartans and Eleians were successful in resisting his claims to Elis. Before his time Argos had traded with the Phoenicians directly, as we may see from the story of Io being carried off by them, related by Herodotus in his first book, but in Pheidon's reign Aegina was the greatest centre of commerce in Greece.

Athens at that time had not developed her navy, and Corinth was not much stronger on the seas east of the Isthmus. The intercourse with Asia Minor encouraged by Pheidon brought to the knowledge of the Æginetan merchants the electrum coinage of Lydia, and he was able to see the advantages given by a stamped coinage.

The temples were the only places safe enough for the establishment of a mint, having sufficient authority to compel the respect for their symbols necessary for the due reception of a coinage. The great temple of Aphrodite Urania, once dedicated to Astarte by the Phoenicians, which overhung the greater harbour at Aegina, was chosen as the site of the first Greek Mint, and the tortoise, the symbol of that Goddess, was adopted as the first Greek coin-type.

That such was the case we have the ancient authority of the fragment called the Parian Chronicle from Paros; Corp. Ins. Gr. 2474, V 45, and of Ephorus of Cumæ, circ. 408 B.C.

We learn also from the Etymol. Mag. s. v. ὀβελισκος that Pheidon laid up in the Heraeum, near Argos, specimens of the old nails or bars of metal formerly in use.

When Pheidon introduced coinage to Europe, he began thereby a work which gave new life to industry and commerce, for it resulted in the reconciliation of work and liberty. Business transactions were thereby more easily and fairly adjusted. The use of money removed the difficulties of those who wished to sell goods to those who had nothing required by the seller to offer in exchange.

Moreover, money did away with the difficulties arising from the question of quality in the goods exchanged; slaves, oxen, horses, or sheep differed much in value one from another, whereas the stamped and weighed coin was always a unit of equal value.

Again, the man who receives a money payment is more free to manage his own affairs in his own way, whereas the old trade by barter of goods or service limited him in all directions. It was not only personal or economic freedom which resulted from the use of money but political freedom also.

According to Nicolas of Damascus, Pheidon is said to have died during a war with Corinth. After his death several Argive kings reigned, whose names only are known to us, and gradually Sicyon, Corinth, Athens, and Sparta were all growing stronger while Argos grew weaker. The date of Pheidon's reign has been a matter of much controversy, but the coinage instituted by him dates from about the year 700 B.C. so that if Pausanias is right in saying he presided over the Olympian games in 748 B.C. the introduction of coinage must have taken place near the end of his reign, and it may be the mint was established a few years earlier than 700 B.C.

THE AEGINETIC STANDARD.

"The Lydians", says Herodotus, "were the first of all nations known to have struck gold and silver coins" (I, 94).

The first coins issued from the Lydian mint are ascribed to Gyges; these coins are rudely executed electrum staters, and smaller coins of the standards known as the Babylonian and Phoenician, of which the earliest staters weighed about 167 and 220 grains respectively. The Phoenician standard was used for the Lydian trade with Greece about 700 B.C.

Pure gold and silver coins were not introduced in Lydia until the time of Croesus in 568-554 B.C.

The silver coins of Aegina were therefore the first minted in that metal, and for about 290 years, that is, down to 430 B.C., this was the only universally recognized medium of exchange in the Peloponnesian markets (Pollux, IX, 74). Confer *Num. Chron.*, 1881, p. 281.

The Greeks of Argos and Aegina became acquainted with the weights of the Phoenicians long before the introduction of money, and the Greeks used money before the Phoenicians coined any for their own use. When Pheidon was reigning the Phoenician standard of weight had been reduced, and he made what was practically a new standard, which became known as the Aeginetic. The authorities for the old eastern weights of Babylon are Herr Lehmann, and F. Hultsch, and the most accessible work on the subject is the Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins, by G. F. Hill. On page 28 of that work is a picture of a bronze weight in the shape of a lion with a handle on the back. It weighed five manahs or minas (μνᾶ). Sixty minas were equal to one Talent. There were 60 shekels in a mina of Babylon. The Phoenician weights were a talent of 3000 staters, a mina of 50 staters, and the stater weighed 14.55 grammes or 224.54 grains.

There are a few staters of Aegina which weigh over 200 grains;

they are exceptional, but enough to show the standard from which they were derived.

The words for these weights are interesting and suggestive; "stater" (στατηρ) is derived from ἱστημι, and was applied at first to any weight, and then especially to a coin of a given weight.

It was first used of the Persian gold coins called Darics. It has been said that the στατηρες Δαρεικοι of Darius Hystaspes were called "Darics" after that king, just as a French gold piece was called a "Louis d'or", or a "Napoleon", but this is not now thought to be a correct explanation (Adolf Holm, vol. II, p. 227).

When speaking of silver coins it is more correct to call coins of this weight Didrachms, because the word stater properly belongs to the gold coinage of the ancient world.

The word Talanton (ταλαντον, from τλαω) meant a balance, then something weighed.

The word Drachm (δραχμή, from δρασσομαι to grasp) signified originally a handful; some authors think that six small bars, called ὀβολοι, were considered a handful, and thus six obols were called a drachm.

It has been suggested that the word drachma applied to the coinage was derived from the Assyrian "daragmana".

The small coins called Obols (ὀβολος) were so called from the small nails or bars of metal in use before the coinage.

M. Oppert has compared the Greek ὀβολός to the Assyrian "aplus" which was used of a coin, but it is probable that the Assyrian aplus is the Greek word transliterated.

The word Mina (μνα) is Semitic, and was learnt from the Phoenicians. The root (מנה) means to divide, number, or portion, and was used especially of a silver weight.

The following table gives the maximum weights of the various coins of Aegina known in large collections: —

Stater or Didrachm	194 grs. =	12.60 grammes =	12 obols
Drachm	97 —	6.30 =	6 obols
Triobol	48 —	3.15 =	3 obols
Diobol	32 —	2.12 =	2 obols
Trihemiobol	24 —	1.575 =	3 half obols
Obol	16 —	1.06 =	1 obol
Hemiobol	8 —	0.53 =	$\frac{1}{2}$ obol
Tetartemorion	4 —	0.265 =	$\frac{1}{4}$ obol

The didrachm is only 194 gr. instead of 195 but this is probably on account of the worn condition of all coins preserved to our day.

The desire to obtain ten pieces of silver which could be exchanged for one of the gold pieces induced Pheidon or his advisers to decide upon a scale which seems to show they valued gold and silver 15 : 1.

One gold Talanton 130 grs. × 15 = 1950 grs. silver.
1950 — ÷ 10 = 195 grs.

The didrachm and the obol are the two most common coins; next to these the drachm is most often met with.

In the glass case just outside the door of the Numismatic Department at the British Museum some of the ancient square weights of the Aeginetic standard may be seen; they are small square pieces of metal, and bear the tortoise as the symbol of the city of Aegina.

We have seen that the Phoenician was not a monetary but a weight standard, the oldest known coins of Tyre being issued about the latter half of the V. century B.C. The earliest coinage of Sidon dates from about 424-405 B.C. Carthage did not issue coinage until about 410 B.C., so the Greeks were enjoying the advantages of a coinage for more than two hundred years before the Phoenicians had issued any from their own cities; but probably they had during that period learned to use the coins of the Greeks. The Phoenicians had taught the Greeks much concerning navigation and the planting of factories and colonies along the coasts and islands of the Aegean seas, but the Greeks showed themselves superior to the Phoenicians in their power to carry with them civilization, and in settling in the new lands and developing their resources, whereas the Phoenicians had only drained the resources of the countries round their factories, and thought only of their own material advantage.

They depended on mercenaries for war, and on slaves for work, and the ruin announced by Ezekiel (c. XXVII, XXVIII) was the natural result.

As miners, they only worked on the richer veins of ore, as fishermen, they exhausted the beds of the murex, as traders in slaves, they drained other lands of the young and strong and they traded in luxuries rather than useful articles.

They retired before the Greeks, having despoiled the places they left of all for which they cared. They amassed wealth without using it, and had no political ambition, for that was destroyed by selfishness, greed, low ideals and by struggling for a monopoly; wealth was to them an end in itself and not a means of usefulness. In establishing their depôts or factories they seem to have preferred islands, for they thus settled upon Cythera, Melos, Thera, Thasos, and Aegina.

*I*st *period.*

The first period lasted about a hundred-and-fifty years, from about 700 to 550 B.C. This first coinage was rather globular in form; on the obverse is a tortoise in high relief, with smooth shell decorated with a row of from four to seven dots or bosses down the

centre of the back. Many specimens are so worn that the dots have entirely disappeared, but no doubt they all were struck with bosses. The head, legs, and tail of the tortoise are shown extended, and towards the end of the period they were sometimes well modelled.

On the Reverse is the usual rough pattern, seen on all the earliest coins of this period, and described in the chapter on the coins of Corinth.

The pattern is a series of irregular spaces deeply indented for the purpose of holding the coin steady in striking the obverse type.

Towards the end of the period the pattern becomes more regular, being divided into eight triangles, four of which are deeply indented. The coins consist of didrachms and the subdivisions enumerated in the table given in the last chapter.

This coinage is extremely interesting from the historical events with which it may be associated. When Pheidon began to mint, Sennacherib was invading Judæa, the Bacchiadae were at Corinth till 655 B.C., and then followed the reigns of Cypselus and Periander until 585 B.C. It was the period of the seven sages of Greece. Solon was at Athens, Crœsus in Asia Minor (born 594) and the Medes were reigning in the East. The coins of this period, when in good condition, are generally valued at about 15 shillings, but poor worn specimens may sometimes be obtained for about five shillings.

*II*nd *period.*

The second period lasted only about 70 years from 550-480 B.C. from the tenth year of Peisistratus to the victory at Salamis.

The Obverse of this coinage may be distinguished from that of the first period by two additional dots or bosses, one on either side of the first boss near the neck of the tortoise, and by a line or ridge, sometimes curved, along the neck above the bosses. On the Reverse the design is more regular; the incuse square is clearly divided by bands into five parts by placing the fifth band diagonally across one of the squares formed by the other four. It is evident that the simplicity of the design is not owing to any want of skill on the part of the die-engraver, but that the old design was retained and merely improved for fear of damaging the credit of the coinage so generally used throughout Southern Greece.

These coins in fair condition may be obtained for from 10 to 20 shillings.

In the British Museum is one very remarkable coin attributed to

the latter part of this period with the usual Obverse, but on the Reverse a Triskelis is placed within the incuse square. The significance of this sun-symbol being found among the coins bearing the square pattern appears to me to point to the real similarity of meaning attributed to the square pattern and the sun emblem.

Confer the notes on the Reverse of the Coins of Corinth. There is also an Obol, in the Museum, bearing a dolphin, attributed to this series.

This period is interesting from its associations with well-known men, such as Cyrus, who overthrew the Lydian monarchy in 546 and took Babylon in 538; he died in 529.

Aeschylus was born in 525. Darius succeeded Cambyses in 521; Pindar was born in 518 B.C.; Hippias exiled from Athens in 510 B.C.; Anaxagoras was born in 500; and in 499 B.C., Aeschylus exhibited his first tragedy. In 495, Sophocles was born; three years later the Persians invaded Europe, and in the next year Athens and Aegina waged war. In 480 Xerxes invaded Greece, and Salamis was fought in the autumn.

*III*rd *period* (480-456 B.C.).

The brief period of 24 years from 480 to 456 B.C. coincides with that of the highest development of art in Aegina, and we see on the coinage the influence of this prosperity. The tortoise on the Obverse was no longer stamped in the archaic manner with bosses on the back, but the natural structure of the shell was artistically imitated. No change was made in the Reverse type except in the greater care with which the incuse square was divided.

These coins in fine preservation are worth from £ 2 to £ 5, but when in poor condition they are worth only a few shillings.

*IV*th *period* (456-431 B.C.).

Although Aegina was taken by the Athenians in 456 B.C. during the next 25 years, until the islanders were exiled in 431, a few coins, chiefly small, were issued with the old type; they may be distinguished by the addition of the letters A—I on either side of the tortoise on the Obverse, and on the Reverse various letters appear in the small squares of the type, probably the initials of magistrates' names. During the next 27 years, from 431 to 404 B.C. no coins were struck in Aegina, as the islanders were all in exile.

Coins of this IVth Period are not rare, specimens may be had from 5 shillings.

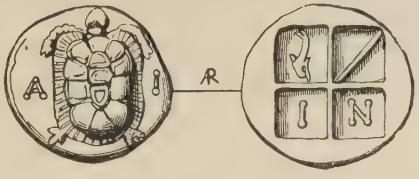
*V*th *period* (404-300 B.C.).

When the Aeginetans were restored in 404 B.C. they began at once to coin money again, adhering to the old types, but using a more flat fabric and placing letters on one or both sides.

The letters A—I are on either side of the tortoise, and on the Reverse a small dolphin appears in one of the squares on the incuse square with letters signifying magistrates' names, in the other two smaller squares, ΔΙ, ΔΙΚΑΙΟ, ΕΥ ΝΙ,Χ &c. Bronze money was issued at this time. On the Obverse, two dolphins with the letter A betwen them. On the Reverse, an incuse square similar to the former series, sometimes with the letters A—Γ Δ—Ι, NO, H, in two of the smaller squares. These coins are fairly common, fine specimens from 15 shillings.

*VI*th *period* (the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.).

Shortly after Alexander's time tetradrachms of the usual types were struck bearing in addition the tortoise and dolphin as symbols. These are very rare coins (Müller, 899). Bronze money also was issued.



1. Obv. AIΓINA. Prow or galley. Rℒ. Ram's head. Æ. 7.
2. Obv. A—I. Bucranium. Rℒ. Dolphin. Æ. 65.
3. Obv. Head of Zeus. Rℒ. AI—ΓI—NI. Archaic Apollo walking with bow and branch. Æ. 65.

These are valued according to condition from as low as 5 shillings.

We may ask where did the men of Pheidon's day get the silver from which they struck the first silver coinage? Adolf Holm (Vol. II, p. 233) conjectures from Laurium; silver was also available in the island of Siphnos, but that island was colonized by Ionians from Athens.

The Siphnians dedicated a tenth of their silver in their treasury at Delphi, and they did not begin to issue coinage until about 600 B.C.

The Aeginetic Standard was adopted by the following mints.

1. The Ionian city Teos (?) on the coast of Asia Minor.
2. Cnidus, a Phoenician settlement colonized by Dorians who, like the men of Aegina, continued the worship of Aphrodite.

3. The Thracian Chersonesus used both the Aeginetic and the Attic standards.

4. Camirus on the Western coast of the island of Rhodes after 408 B.C. The three Rhodian towns united to use the Attic standard, until they made a standard of their own.

5. Ceos
6. Naxos } Cf. Head, Hist. Num., p. 408. Four staters of Phoenician weight, examples of the original Aeginetic stater.

7. Crete. The standard employed was a debased form of the Aeginetic, approaching in weight to the Persic standard which prevailed along the southern coasts of Asia Minor and in Cyprus.

8. Thessaly. Head, H. N., p. 222.

9. Phocis. Triobols. 48 grs. Obols, 16 grs.

10. Boeotia. Aeginetic, down to 315 B.C., after which Attic.

11. In the Chalcidian colonies in Italy and Sicily.

12. Corcyra followed the Aeginetic standard, but somewhat reduced.

13. Abdera in Thrace.

14. Cyme (?) Archaic silver Aeginetic staters from the "Thera find".

15. Cnidus (Cariae), a Phoenician settlement colonized by Dorians.

16. Celenderis (Ciliciae), Phoenician settlement colonized from Samos. The standard was Aeginetic before 450 B.C.

17. The stater weighing 180 grs. was divided into thirds, sixths, and twelfths.

THE TORTOISE TYPE.

As the owls so common in the rocky cliffs round Athens were chosen as the type for the Athenian coins, so the tortoises common on the shores of Aegina were chosen for the first type struck in the temple of Aphrodite Urania of Aegina; and as the owl was the emblem of Athene so was the tortoise the emblem of Aphrodite, the goddess born of the sea foam (ἀφρός) in which the tortoises were found. As evidence of the commonness of the tortoises in those seas we may note that a headland in Elis was called Chelinatas (χελιανος) and the islands off the west of Lycia were called Chelidoniæ. There is also the well-known story of Theseus throwing the robber Sciron over the cliff to be eaten by a great sea-tortoise, thus causing him to suffer the fate he had inflicted on many. Plutarch tells the tale in his life of Theseus.

This emblem on the first Greek coins is thus seen to be purely Greek in origin, and is not derived from the Phoenician cult of Ashtoreth. The old Babylonian symbol of Ishtar was the cross and

the dove, never the tortoise. Selden says the bull's head and the crescent moon were emblems of Astarte. Among the Egyptians the tortoise was indeed known as an emblem, but of a very different divinity. In the 83rd chapter of the Book of the Dead this creature is mentioned as emblematic of the evil spirit of darkness and storms, and a constellation connected with storms was called the tortoise. The Greek Aphrodite Urania is often seen represented by statues resting a foot or hand on the tortoise, and the footstools in her temple were made in the shape of these creatures. As the mint was established in the precincts of her temple it is only natural that this type should be regarded as an emblem of the goddess. A representation of the temple may be seen on a coin of the Imperial period, issued at Aegina, figured in Frazer's annotations on Pausanias, (Vol. III, p. 213), and mentioned in Dr Head's *Hist. Num.*, p. 334. It is possible the tortoises may have been eaten and their shells used as rough measures and utensils, and there may even have been some trade in the shells, but the religious meaning is so well authenticated that we can hardly imagine any reference to commerce to have been meant by the choice of the type.

Aphrodite Urania was the name given by the Greeks to the old goddess worshipped by the Phoenician settlers on the island under the name Ashtoreth, or as the Greeks called her, Astarte.

Those who wish for full information concerning the Phoenician Goddess, derived from modern discoveries, will find what they desire in the "Hebraica" for April, July, October, 1893, and January, 1894.

The Phoenicians derived their goddess from the Assyrian Ishtar, daughter of Sin, the moon-god, and sister of Shemesh, the sun-god. The Sidonians called Ashtoreth the queen of heaven, and we see this title in Jeremiah VII. 18, where we read of "the women kneading dough to make cakes for the queen of heaven".

The epithet Heavenly was applied to Astarte by Sanchoniathon, Sozomen, Pausanias, and Herodotus, who tells us of the destruction of her temple at Ascalon, which he calls the most ancient of the temples of Aphrodite Urania. In that temple at Ascalon, we read in I Sam. XXXI, 10, the Philistines deposited the armour of Saul. Ashtoreth was the patron goddess of Sidon, and Jezebel's father was one of her priests.

As among the Greeks and Romans we find two Aphrodites, the one, the goddess of domestic love, and the other, of impure illicit passion and strife, so we find the same two among the Semnites. At Arbela the goddess Ishtar was the daughter of Asshur, sister of Marduk, who was styled by Esarhaddon as "terrible in onslaught, lady of battles, queen of the gods".

She was the patroness of illicit passion whose impure rites are described by Herodotus (I. 199) and Strabo (XVI, 1).

Among the Greeks, Aphrodite Urania was symbolized by the tortoise, and the other, called the Vulgar, by the he-goat. Pausanias speaks of an image of this latter as ξωανον ὡπλισμενον (III, 231) and such images were found at Corinth and Sparta; we read of both goddesses in the description of Elis by Pausanias (Bk VI, c. xxv, p. 322, Frazer) "The Aphrodite in the temple is called Heavenly, the image is of ivory and gold, a work of Pheidias; the goddess stands with one foot on a tortoise. The precinct of the other Aphrodite is surrounded by a wall ..... and on the basement is a bronze image of Aphrodite seated on a bronze he-goat".

The group is the work of Scopas, and the Aphrodite is called the Vulgar. I leave the curious to guess the meaning of the tortoise and the he-goat." Plutarch shows us what may have been guessed.

The first mentioned statue is that of which Plutarch writes in his treatise (Conjugialia Præcepta p. 142 D). As an example of the duty of keeping all signs of affection for the privacy of home he says: "The Aphrodite which Phidias made for the people of Elis treads upon a tortoise, a symbol of the home-abiding of women and of silence, for women ought to speak to their own husbands or through them."

We find the same explanation of the symbol in his treatise "de Iside et Osiride", p. 381 E. "Among the Greeks many images of the gods exhibit such symbols as... the tortoise of Aprodite in Elis; maidens should be guardians (*of themselves*), married women should stay at home and be silent."

The symbol is most appropriate to express the ideas of home abiding and silence, and Plutarch here gives us an ancient explanation of the choice of the tortoise as a symbol ot Aphrodite Urania. Two ancient bronzes are known, one Greek, and one Etruscan, showing the goddess with her foot on a tortoise.

In the Madrid copy ot the statue of Aphrodite crouching, one foot of the goddess is resting on a tortoise (Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 150, 323).

In the British Museum Gem Room, in case marked R, is a beautiful circular silver relief, about 3 inches in diameter, from Tarentum, on which the goddess is represented with her left hand resting on a tortoise. In the Terra Cotta Room at the British Museum, in the case marked 10, is a small tortoise of terra-cotta about 3 or 4 inches long with the short neck of a vase projecting from the back, showing it was used as a vase or vessel; in the same room are four more terra-cotta tortoises about 3 inches long, roughly modelled and looking like toys for children. In the Bronze Room of the Br. Museum, in case 38, n° 1906, is a small bronze tortoise. Athenæus (XIII, p. 589 A) preserves a story which shows that the stools in the temples of Aphrodite were of this form; he says that the Thessalian

women, jealous of the seductive charms of Laïs, beat her to death with the wooden tortoises used as stools in the temple of Aphrodite. The story is in harmony with the ideas connected with the symbol by Plutarch.

The religious nature of the types on the ancient Greek coinage has recently been questioned and disputed by Mr. William Ridgeway This new theory, however, does not commend itself to the leading numismatists of our day.

In volume X of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, p. 91, is a most interesting article by Prof. Dr Ernest Curtius "On the religious character of Greek coins", translated by Dr Barclay Head.

Dr Curtius shows that the earliest mints were established in the temples, and the types chosen by the priests.

The temples were the banks or treasuries of the precious metals, before coined money was issued. There were bazaars or shops outside the temples, and athletic contests took place in connection with religion.

Many coins bear witness to this by their types. The opposition between secular and religious life, with which we are now too familiar, did not exist in those days.

The confederation of towns often grew up resting on religious foundations, as for example that of the Lycians under Apollo, that of the Arcadians under Zeus Lykæus, that of the South Italian cities under Hera, and the coins of these cities bear the head of the deity under whose protection they were united.

As the state developed, the political power and freedom, resulting from the introduction of coinage, it gradually, and without disagreement or rupture with the priesthood, built at the state's expense new treasuries, which however were still connected with the temples, and the treasuries became state, not mere temple, treasuries.

At first the officers of the mint were invested with a sacerdotal character. A sign of this change may be seen on the coins, the state mint officials caused the initial letters of the name of the city to be placed on the coinage as a secular mint-mark.

The works of Thomas Burgon, and Percy Gardner (especially "The types of Greek coins", Cambridge, 1882), will give details as to the religious symbols on the coins.

The secular theory may be seen in a recent work on "the Origin of Currency and weight Standards", by William Ridgeway M. A., published in 1892.

The tortoise on the coins of Aegina is thought by him to be a purely commercial one, having regard either to a trade in tortoises or their shells, or to the use of the tortoise-shell as a measure. Mr. Ridgeway points out that the sea-urchin (ἐχῖνος "echinus")

gave its name to a copper vessel used in washing cups; that the mussel-shells were used as a small liquid measure or as small vessels for holding oil or salt. The ὀστρακον or hard shells of shell-fish such as oysters or mussels, were thus used, but I cannot find any ancient reference to the use of the word χελωνη or testudo for any vessel or measure used by the ancients; they used the shells of the tortoise for musical instruments and footstools, and called the covering of lapped shields testudo.

Mr. Ridgeway gives as similar instances of trade symbols : the axe-heads on coins of Tenedos, the kettle tripods on those of Crete, the seal on those of Phocaea, the rose on coins of Rhodes, the wine-jar on those of Chios, the olive-spray on those of Athens, the Silphium on coins of Cyrene, the ear of corn on those of Metapontum, the shields on those of Boeotia, and the tunny-fish on coins of Olbia (Sarmatia) and Cyzicus.

If Mr. Ridgeway's theory, that the object was represented on the coin because the coin symbolized the old trade unit, were correct, we should expect to find the axe-heads on the earliest coins of Tenedos, whereas we find on these a religious emblem, the janiform head of a deity. Similarly we do not find the wine-jars on the earliest coins of Chios, but instead the sphinx which can hardly refer to commerce. Again the wine-cups are not found on the early coins of Thasos on which we see the mythological subject of Silenus and a nymph.

Moreover the axe on the coins of Tenedos must be regarded in the light of literature; now Atheneus 10, 84, calls the axe Διωνύσοιο ἄναχτος βουφονον θεράποντα, and the πέλεκυς or double-axe appears on coins of Alexander of Pheræ, a prince, who according to Theopompus, specially worshipped the Dionysus of Pagasæ ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πέλεκυς.

Dr Head considers the axe-heads on the coins of Tenedos beyond all doubt a religious symbol, and compares them with the double-axe held by Zeus Labraundeus on the coins of Caria.

In regard to the tripod coins of Crete, as the head of Apollo is on the obverse, all numismatists would naturally consider the tripod on the R℣. as a symbol of that god, and certainly not a trade emblem.

The seal on the coins of Phocaea seems rather a reference to the name of the city than to any trade in seals.

The rose on the coins of Rhodes was more probably chosen as a type because that flower was the emblem of the sun-god Helios who was worshipped in that island; the head of Helios is on the Obverse.

The amphoræ on the coins of Chios are found together with figures of Dionysus and his emblems grapes and ivy-wreaths, so

these vessels are more likely to refer to the wine-jars of the wine god than to any trade in pottery, or wine.

The olive-spray on the coins of Athens is so intimately connected with the cult of Athene that the reference to a trade in olives or oil seems most unlikely. The silphium plant valued for its scent and its medicinal properties, was a symbol of the god Aristaeos, the protector of vegetation from the hot blasts of the Sahara. He was called a son of Apollo; no doubt there was a trade in Silphium as there was a trade in olives, but the religious idea was more prominent than the commercial in the mind of those who chose the type. The ear of corn on the coins of Metapontum is much more probably a symbol of Demeter than of trade in corn, because the head of the goddess appears on the Obverse of some of these coins, and on the Reverse of others Demeter is represented with her torch. The tunny-fish on the coins of Cyzicus, the πηλαμὺς was no doubt an object of trade, for shoals of these fishes passed continually through the Propontos on their way from the Euxine to the Aegean sea. The place of the emblem on the coin, however, is here different and subordinate. But even this type cannot be shown to be without some religious meaning, for the fishes bear a fillet, an emblem showing them to be dedicated to a deity.

That the Boeotian shields were a religious emblem there can be little doubt, they probably referred to Herakles or Athena Itonia, whose temple was the meeting-place of the Boeotian league. There are other symbols not mentioned by Mr. Ridgeway which might be thus interpreted in a commercial sense by reading into them modern ideas, such as the Doves on coins of Sicyon, the symbol of Aphrodite. The lyre on coins of Colophon does not signify a trade in lyres, but represents the symbol of Apollo; the Sepia on coins of Eretria was a symbol of Poseidon, the Bee on coins of Ephesus was not an ancient advertisement of a trade in honey but was to the people of that day a well-known symbol of the goddess of their city. The barn-door cock on the coins of Himera likewise was no poultry advertisement, but a symbol recognized by all ancient Greeks as that of Æsculapius, and the Selinon leaf on coins of Selinus was a symbol of the worship of the River-god of that place.

No doubt the religious idea arose oftentimes from the plentiful supply of some earthly blessing such as corn, oil, wine, or silphium, but the religious mind of the Greeks used representations of these blessings as symbols of their divine giver.

The theory that some of these objects were units in the old trade by barter and were thus represented on the newly introduced means of commerce is at first sight attractive, but the coin can never have been regarded quite simply as worth an axe, a shield,

a fish, a tortoise, for the coin at once brought in new ideas of value distinct from the old vague, varying, doubtful values of the old articles of barter. No doubt coin-types do give incidental evidence as to the nature of the trade of each city which issued these old pieces of money, and no doubt the units of that old barter trade were single objects of exchange, whether fishes or tortoises or axes, but no proof has been yet brought forward of any connection between the trade-unit and the coins.

The fact that these symbols were found marked upon the temple furniture, as for instance Apollo's lyre on the marble vessels at Cnidus, and the vessels of Aphrodite in the shape of a tortoise, shows they were certainly used as religious symbols; moreover the poetry of ancient Greece and Rome abounds with references to these emblems in that sense.

Addison in his *Dialogues on Medals* warns us against modern interpretations of types. "It is here, therefore", says Philander, "that the old poets step in to the assistance of the medallists." (p. 270, Ed. Bohn).

It would perhaps be wrong to look upon every emblem as purely religious, for in p. 173 of Mr. G. F. Hill's "Handbook on Greek and Roman Coins" is a paragraph headed "Types representing local features", such as the Mussel of Cumae, the Celery of Selinus, the Sepia of Coresia, the Silphium of Cyrenaica, the Tunny-fish of Cyzicus. When however the emblem appears with the head of a deity on the same coin, and that emblem we know either from literature or archæology, to have been the symbol of that deity, we can hardly reject the idea that it is a religious and not a commercial or secular emblem.

Demeter appears thus with her corn, Diana with her bees, Athena with her olive-spray, Apollo with his lyre.

However, the reader's attention has been drawn to a most interesting and valuable work by Mr. W. Ridgeway, and those who are interested enough to pursue the subject further will be glad to read Mr. Warwick Wroth's admirable review of that book in the VI. volume of the "Classical Review" (p. 471), Mr. Ridgeway's reply in Vol. VII, (p. 79) of the same Review, and Mr. W. Wroth's final answer to that reply.

The study of the coinage of one great city like Aegina involves a certain amount of general knowledge of the ancient coins of other cities, and of Greek poetry, religion, and commerce, and this need for varied investigation gives a special charm to even such elementary studies as are involved in these chapters on common coins.

COINS OF THE BOEOTIAN LEAGUE

INTRODUCTION.

As a rule Greek coins are associated only with the cities in which they were issued, but those hitherto described in these pages, the "Owls", "Colts", and "Tortoises", were current coin in many other cities allied by commerce, religion, and government, and were received with favour in many lands across the seas.

The first place was given to Athens as the most famous city, the second to Corinth on account of the wide dispersion of her coinage, and the third to Aegina, because although her mint was the first in Europe, her citizens were less famous and her coins distributed only over the smaller area of the Peloponnesus. The Boeotian federal coinage presents us with a fourth series of widely distributed coins, and the principal mint-city Thebes was even richer in mythical lore than either Corinth or Aegina.

Thebe, from whom the city was named, and her sister Aegina, were the daughters of the same river-god Asopus ; the friendship between the Thebans and Aeginetans resulting from this mythical relationship, has been referred to in the notes on Aegina, and is mentioned by Pindar in his Odes.

As the coins of Athens bore witness to the cult of Athene, those of Corinth to that of Poseidon and Helios, and those of Aegina to the worship of Aphrodite, so the coinage of Boeotia witnessed to the cults of Heracles and Dionysus.

The Boeotians are said to have derived their name from Mount Boeon in Epirus, from which neighbourhood they probably arrived among the Minyans of Orchomenus and the Cadmeans of Thebes, about 60 years after the Trojan war, if Thucydides is correct in his statement to that effect. Homer, however, in the Iliad, speaks of Boeotians led by Peneleus, but perhaps they were introduced merely out of flattery. The Boeotians mingled with the conquered races and formed a dialect influenced by their speech.

When the Dorian invasion took place the Boeotians became amalgamated with those who remained in northern Greece.

Boeotia may be described as a large hollow basin shut in by mountains, but divided into two parts by mount Ptoum and mount Phoenicium. The northern portion was drained by the Cephissus, whose waters formed the lake Copais, and the southern portion by the river Asopus.

The Lake Copais was partially drained by the Minyans of Orchomenus, and their tunnels are said to have been stopped up by the Theban hero Heracles, who thus inundated the lands of his enemies. Paus, IX, 38.

The name Phoenicium rests only on Strabo's authority, and may be a corruption of Phicium. Φίξ is the Aeolic form of Ζφίγξ. On this mountain is a rock like a woman's head, hence perhaps the legend of the Sphinx throwing her victims into the lake Copais.

Southern Boeotia may be divided into the plain of Thebes and the valley of the Asopus.

The climate of Boeotia is damp with the vapours arising from the lakes and valleys, and the winter often very cold and stormy. Snow falls often and lies there when there is none at Athens. The soil is a fertile rich mould, very unlike the light dry soil of Attica. There was also much fertile pasture land on which herds of horses, and cattle, and flocks of sheep were pastured. Even palm-trees flourished in the fertile bay of Aulis, and the vine was cultivated with much success; hence the worship of Dionysus, who is said to have introduced the vine at Thebes. Iron was obtained on the eastern coast and Boeotian swords and shields were celebrated.

The cities had a more sombre appearance than those of the South because of the black and grey marble used in Boeotia. Fine potter's earth was found at Aulis with which the amphoræ were made which appear as a type on the coins. Paus. IX, 19-8.

The simple rural life of the Boeotians in a climate less sunny than that of Attica was supposed to have produced a race of men less intellectual than that of Athens; but the oldest poet next to Homer, and the greatest of all the Greek lyric poets were Boeotians. Moreover Corinna of Tanagra and Myrtis of Anthedon were far from being dull or heavy, and in Art the Boeotians could boast of Myron of Eleutheræ, and the statuettes of terra-cotta made in Tanagra.

The city of Thebes is associated with many of the most interesting myths of the prehistoric ages of Greece; there, Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiope, played his lyre with power to move the stones upon the rising walls of the city, as Horace says "movit Amphion lapides canendo". There Niobe, the wife of Amphion, was slain with her children by the angry god, and there her tomb was shown. In

Thebes dwelt the aged seer Teiresias, blinded by Athene, and gifted by Zeus with prophecy, and the understanding of the songs of birds. His long career was connected with many legends, with that of Dirce slain by the bull, with that of Daphne his daughter, and also with the war so gloriously described by Aeschylus, called "The Seven against Thebes". His grave was shown at Haliartus. He is also connected with the legend of Oedipus and the myth of the Sphinx, for it was Teiresias who told the king that the plague had visited the city through his guilt. The story of Antigone, so grandly told by Sophocles, is part of the Theban legend of Oedipus.

Thebes also was the home of the famous Cadmus, who introduced the Alphabet to Greece, and whose daughters were so celebrated. Sophocles said, concerning the births of Amphion, Heracles and Dionysus, that Thebes was "the only city where mortal women are the mothers of gods". One daughter, Semele, gave birth to Dionysus, another, Antonoë, was the mother of Acteon, who was torn to pieces by the dogs of Artemis; another, Agave, bore Pentheus, who dared to resist the introduction of the worship of Dionysus, and was torn to pieces by his mother and her two sisters Ino and Antonoë, who in their Bacchic frenzy believed him to be a wild beast, as is related in the Bacchæ of Euripides.

The myths of Heracles will be considered in the chapter on the Reverse types, enough has been said to show the interesting associations of the city whose coinage we are now to study.

The story of the Boeotian mints will here be told only up to the time when Thebes was destroyed by Alexander the Great, who introduced the new coinage which gradually took the place of all the four series of coins already considered, and became far more widely used than any of those it superseded.

The arrangement of the Boeotian coinage into periods is taken from Dr Barclay Head's admirable article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (III Series, vol. I., 1881) in which all who wish for further details will find the best information.

The notes on the history of each period are here given in a more elementary form for the sake of those who do not possess books of reference.

Before beginning to describe the coinage a few notes are given concerning some of the principal mint-cities of the League. Detailed information concerning the Boeotian League may be found in the Dictionary of Daremberg et Saglio, Vol. I, p. 714.

ORCHOMENUS.

Orchomenus was one of the most ancient cities of Greece, and famous for its great wealth. Two of the neighbouring cities, Haliartus and Coroneia, were named after members of the royal family.

Chrysis, a son of Poseidon, was father of Minyas, who built the treasury, and gave his name to the Minyan race. Minyas was succeeded by Orchomenus, after whom the city was named.

Homer tells that the city sent 30 ships to the Trojan war, *Il.*, II, 511. Sixty years afterwards Orchomenus became an unwilling member of the Boeotian league.

The town of Chaeroneia appears to have been always one of its dependencies. In the Persian war Orchomenus fought on the Persian side. As long as there was an aristocratic government in Thebes, Orchomenus was on friendly terms with the city, but when a democracy was ruling opposition began.

In 395, when Lysander invaded Boeotia, Orchomenus sent troops to assist him in his siege of Haliartus. Next year Orchomenus fought against the Boeotians and Athenians in the army of Agesilaus at Coroneia. In 387, at the peace of Antalcidas, Orchomenus was free, but in 371, after Leuctra, Thebes was again in the ascendant.

Epaminondas pleaded for the city that it might not be destroyed, but in vain, for in 368, on pretext of a conspiracy said to have been discovered, the Thebans burnt Orchomenus to the ground, slew all the males, and sold as slaves all the women and children. Paus. IX, 15. This cruel act of vengeance is a great blot upon the Theban character.

By 353 the site appears to have been again inhabited. In 346 however the city was given by Philip to the Thebans, who destroyed the city a second time and sold all the inhabitants as slaves.

Orchomenus was rebuilt by Alexander the Great after the destruction of Thebes.

The city in its prosperity contained temples to Dionysus and the Charites, the treasury and tomb of Minyas and the tomb of Hesiod. Seven stadia from the town was a temple of Heracles.

THESPIAE.

Thespiae was situated at the foot of mount Helicon looking towards the south and the Crissaean Gulf.

It derived its name from Thespia, a daughter of Asopus, or from Thespius, whose father migrated there from Athens. It is mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*, II, 498.

Like Plataea Thespiae was inimical to Thebes; these two cities alone dared to refuse earth and water to the heralds of Xerxes, Herod., VII, 132.

Seven hundred Thespians joined Leonidas at Thermopylæ and remained to die with the 300 Spartans when the other Greeks retired. Their city was burnt by Xerxes and the inhabitants fled to the Peloponnesus. Thespiae was rebuilt later and strangers were admitted to make up the number of citizens.

At the battle of Delium the Thespians fought against the Athenians and were almost all slain.

In 423 and in 372 B.C. the Thebans destroyed the city walls and soon after the battle of Leuctra they were exiled from Boeotia. The principal cult of the city was that of Eros, and they possessed the celebrated statue of that god by Praxiteles.

TANAGRA.

The most ancient inhabitants of Tanagra are said to have been Phoenicians, who came over with Cadmus. Herod. V, 57.

In 456, only 62 days after their defeat before the city, the Athenians gained the victory at Oenophyta, near Tanagra, and razed the walls to the ground, Thuc. I, 108. In 426 the Athenians again won a victory near the city. The city stands on a rugged lofty height and has a white appearance.

The citizens were wealthy but frugal, being agriculturists, not manufacturers; they were also praised by Dichaearchus for their good faith, justice and hospitality.

The principal temple was that of Dionysus; near it were temples of Aphrodite and Apollo.

Corinna was born there, and her statue adorned the market-place.

CORONEIA.

Coroneia is situated on a height near mount Helicon at the entrance to a valley; from the higher parts of the town a fine view over the lake Copais could be seen.

The name is said to have been given by the earliest Boeotians after a town of that same name in Thessaly.

In the plain in front of the city was the temple of Athena Itonia, also named after a Thessalian site. In that temple was held the festival of the Pamboeotia, Pausan. IX, 34, § 1.

HALIARTUS.

Haliartus, situated on the southern side of the lake Copais, on a pass between the mountain and the lake, was one of the Boeotian towns which remained faithful to Greece during the invasion of Xerxes, and was in consequence destroyed by the Persians. It was however rebuilt, and became one of the principal cities of the League, Thuc., IV, 95. Under its walls Lysander fell in 395 B.C.

THE OBVERSE TYPE.

The well known oval shield with a semi-circular opening on either side at the centre, called by Mr. A. J. Evans the Aeakid

shield, is the subject of a most interesting article in vol. XIII of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1892-3. In the same volume is an article by Mr. Ernest Gardner, entitled "Palladia from Mycenæ", in which it is shown that model shields of this form were used as amulets; on some of these the head and feet of a deity appear over the border of the shield. The shields are regarded as representations or symbols of an armed divinity, and the shields on the coins of Boeotia are considered instances of this usage. Herakles was most probably the deity thus symbolized by the Boeotians, according to Mr. P. Gardner in "Types of Greek Coins", p. 48, and Dr Barclay Head in the notes in the British Museum catalogue, but in the "*Hist. Num.*" Dr Head suggests the possibility of the shields representing Athena Itonia, in whose temple at Itonia, in the territory of Coroneia, the Boeotian league used to meet. Paus., IX, 34, 1. Itonia was named after Itonus, the father of Boetus, and Itonus was the son of Amphictyon.

The only silver coins bearing the Boeotian shield, and having on the R/. a head of Athene, are obols issued 213 years after the first establishment of mints in Boeotia, in the eighth period of the coinage, and at a time when the Boeotian league was dissolved. The letters K—O in the field of the R/. show they were issued from the mint of Coroneia, near to which city was the temple of Athena Itonia.

Dr Head in the *Hist. Num.*, p. 291, says "That golden shields were preserved at Coroneia we gather from a passage of Pausanias" (1, 25, 7).

The following is the translation by J. G. Frazer of this passage. "Lacharis fled to Boeotia. But as he had taken down golden shields from the Acropolis, and had stript the very image of Athena of all the ornaments that could be removed, he was suspected of being very rich, and was therefore murdered by some men of Coroneia."

An instance of shields being dedicated to Athene may be seen in Plutarch's life of Alexander (16) in which he tells us that "after the battle of Granicus, Alexander the Great sent 300 Persian shields to Athens to be dedicated to Athene", and these may have been gilded.

The golden parts of the statue of Athene by Pheidias were so contrived that they could be removed in case of need; and the statue robbed by Lacharis may have been similar to that of Athens.

The shields however which were hung round temples were not so likely to have been chosen as a coin-type as the shields used in far earlier days as amulets and objects representing divinities, moreover their shape would have been different from that on the Boeotian coinage.

Coin-types which are common to more than one deity are

usually attributed to that one whose head or figure appears on the same coin. As we find the head, or figure, or club of Heracles on a great number of the Boeotian coins during the V^th^, VI^th^, and VII^th^ periods of the coinage, that is from the year 446 to 387 B.C., or for a period of 59 years before the head of Athene appears on a small obol of a city, which, like the others of that period especially, desired to have a different type to that used by Thebes, we may conclude that the evidence of the coins is more in favour of the shield having been chosen as an emblem of Heracles than of Athene. The shape of the Boeotian shield moreover is unlike the common shields or those seen on statues of Athene, but is the same as that on statues representing ancient Dorian warriors. At the close of a war it was customary to hang shields in the temples, when the handles and arm-rests were removed, to render them useless in any sudden sedition or riot. Common shields were connected with the temple furniture, but when a shield as a fitting object for a coin-type was desired, a more ancient pattern was chosen.

M^r^ A. J. Evans says the appearance of this form of shield on the coins by no means indicates that such shields were in ordinary use at the time of their mintage, and there is every reason to believe this form was then archaic, and represented a national cult. It should be noted that this opinion is most decidedly unfavourable to the theory of Mr. W. Ridgeway that the shields represented a trade in these articles for which Boeotia was famed.

A proof of the archaic character of this form of shield may be seen on the coins of Salamis, on which is represented the similar thield of Telamonian Ajax, whose temple was the chief centre of she insular cult.

Ajax was the son of Æakos, and represents the early dynasty in the island.

There is an illustration of a massive gold ring, with bezel in shape of the Aeakid shield found in Ægina, on p. 213 of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*; in this the resemblance to the shield on the coins of Salamis is most striking.

Another proof of the archaic character of this form of shield may be seen in the shield engraved on a disk of grey stone found in grave n° 33, excavated by M. Tsountas, in the lower city of Mycenæ.

A most probable connection of this ancient form with Boeotia may be found in Homer's description of the shield of Ajax (*Iliad.* VII, 219, seq.) as the work of Tychios, the best of shield-cutters, who dwelt in Hyle, the Hyle in Boeotia being the city most probably mentioned, especially as this was the form commemorated on the earliest Boeotian coinage. The archaic character of the shield is also

suggested by a passage in Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, VII, cap. 56 (p. 135, Ed. Geneva, and p. 189 B, Holland's trans.) in which he mentions a Boeotian legend ascribing the invention of the shield to Chalkos, son of the Minyan King Athamas : "Shields were devised by Prætus and Anisius when they warred one against the other, or else by Chalkos the son of Athamas"; elsewhere we read of this Athamas that he was in love with Ino the daughter of Cadmus.

The somewhat similar shields called Dipylon, shields of the Hittites, and their allies in Asia Minor, are not to be regarded as the original form of the Aeakid shield, and Mr. Evans calls the Dipylon form the Dorian, but no evidence is given.

There is ample evidence of a very early connection between Orchomenus and Aegina, where the gold ring above mentioned was found with many Mycenæan treasures.

Among the famous groups of statuary, now in Munich, taken from the pediment of the Temple of Athene in Aegina, Telamon is represented fighting the Trojans with the aid of Herakles, who is represented kneeling and shooting with his bow, thus showing that soon after 480 B.C. Heracles was considered a Greek divine hero. This figure of Heracles is illustrated on p. 550 of Duruy's *History of Greece*, II, sec. II. On p. 474 of Vol. II, of Duruy's *History of Greece* is an illustration of "a Dorian warrior" taken from a bronze statuette discovered at Dodona, and now in the Museum at Berlin. The shield on the arm of this warrior is of the Aeakid pattern, the work is said to be of the early years of the Vth cent. B.C.

If the Aeakid form of shield was used by the Minyans, or early Boeotians, as seems probable from the Mycenean remains, the Dorians may have adopted it, just as the Dorian invaders of Argos and Aegina adopted much of the civilization of those they conquered.

M. O. Müller and M. de Wilamowitz, among other authorities, consider Heracles to have been one of the earliest Dorian leaders.

The poem of Hesiod on the shield of Heracles is of no value to the present discussion.

THE REVERSE TYPES.

Heracles.

Heracles is one of the many names of Greek deities presenting philological problems. Three principal solutions of the problem in this name have been proposed: first that of the ancients, who translated the name "Hera's glory", as Diodorus, who said ὅτι δι Ἥραν ἴσχε κλέος, for through Hera he obtained glory; the second

solution, supported by Tümpel, *Philol.*, L., 1891) is that the name is a masculine form of Hera; and the third is the derivation of the word from ἥρως, connecting the word with the Sanskrit and Zend words signifying sunlight, and regarding the name as equivalent to the Sun's glory.

Ancient discussions on philological subjects are generally of little value to modern philologists, but in this case, the ancient view is most in harmony with the myths, for it assumes that the hero was a Greek, and ignores the idea of his identity with the Tyrian Melkarth, with whom he was confounded by writers of a later age, such as Sanchuniathon, and Eusebius who refers to him as Μελκάθρος ὁ καί Ἡρακλῆς in Præp. Evang., I, 10,27, confer also Menander of Ephesus, quoted by Josephus in *Ant. Jud.*, VIII, 146 and *Contra Apion*, I, 118. In the bilingual stone at Malta also "our lord Melkarth, the Baal at Tyre" is translated in the Greek, Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγετει. These late misunderstandings may have arisen from the fact that there was a sanctuary at Tyre called that of the Thasian Heracles referred to by Herodotus II, 44 but he refers to a different cult to that of the city god Melkarth. The confusion of the two cults is apparently confined to a few late writers, until in modern times the fact that Phoenician civilization has been traced in the early days of the city Thebes has caused some few writers still to connect the Greek hero with the Phoenician deity.

K. O. Müller however maintains that the Cadmeans were Pelasgians.

As the worship of Aphrodite in Aegina arose from that of Astarte, so that of Heracles is thougt by a few to have risen from the Phoenician cult of Melkarth. The Phoenician settlers in Euboea crossed to the mainland, the citadel of Thebes was called the Cadmeia, the stream Ismenus also may have been so called from Eshmun. The seven gates of Thebes are thought by J. Brandis to indicate the Phoenician origin of the city, and to have been dedicated to the seven planets.

Near Thebes also was the shrine of the Phoenician Cabeiri.

Lenormant in his work "Les Premières Civilisations", II,285 refers to the struggle between the Greeks and Phoenicians expressed in the Theban myths. It has been asked, how came the sea-loving Phoenicians to settle so far from the sea as Thebes, and the only answer propounded is that agricultural Semnites chose the rich wheat lands as a home on a spot which afforded an opening to markets on the Corinthian gulf as well as on the Euboean seas.

The Heracles of the myths and legends was a purely Greek character and that fact points to a Dorian or Boeotian rather than a Phoenician origin.

Thucydides tells us the Dorians invaded the Peloponnese about

eighty years after the Trojan war, and Thebes had been occupied by them for many years before that event.

The earliest of the myths concerning the divine origin of the hero is that of Homer, and Herodotus informs us that the poet lived about the middle of the ninth century, a date which would afford sufficient time for the legends of the hero to become mythical. The wide distribution of the myth among the Greek cities and islands agrees well with the theory of his Dorian origin.

Although his parents Alcmene and Amphitryon were descended from the divine race of Perseus we cannot consider the hero to have belonged to the pre-Dorian Minyans, but he may have been Boeotian, for the earliest legends tell of his opposition to Erginus, king of Orchomenus, and of his sending back the messengers of that king maimed and insulted, when they came to claim tribute from Thebes. His father's tomb was seen by Pausanias at Thebes, and his mother's at Haliartus was shown to Plutarch.

The legends of his infancy are connected with the Greek gods Zeus and Hera, who sent the snakes to destroy him in his cradle, a myth represented on the coinage, and sung by Pindar in his first Nemean Ode. It was Hera also, who, being appeased by Pallas, received the babe to her bosom, thus rendering him immortal, and returned him to his mother from the field in which he had been exposed. On account of this legend, it may be, the Pythian oracle changed his name from Alkaios to Heracles, the glory of Hera.

His youth was spent minding cattle near Thebes, and he is also said to have closed the outlets of the Copaic lake. The illustrations of the legends on the coins seem to refer to these earlier legends rather than to the later twelve labours, except perhaps that which shows him stringing his bow, which may refer to the Stymphalian birds, but the type may be a copy of the statue in Aegina.

It was during the period when Thebes was the leading state in Boeotia 446-426 B.C., that we meet with the Reverse types which illustrate the life of Heracles, as for instance:

(*a*) The hero naked, walking to right, holding the club in his right, and the bow in his left hand.

(*b*) Heracles naked, kneeling to right on his right knee, stringing his bow.

(*c*) Heracles kneeling to right and shooting an arrow from his bow.

(*d*) Heracles naked, striding to right, bearing away the Delphic tripod and wielding his club.

(*e*) The infant Heracles, kneeling and looking to left, strangling the serpents.

(*f*) Heracles dressed in short chiton and chlamys, kneeling to right and looking back, both hands raised, in his right a club.

Gardner (*Types* p. 111) regards Myron as the great Boeotian artist and ascribes these types to his influence (pl. iii, 44-46).

REVERSE TYPES WITH EMBLEMS OF DIONYSUS.

Thebes was not only the cradle of Heracles but also of the noisy god Dionysus, and the coinage bears frequent evidence of the popularity of the cult of the wine-god.

In the Homeric Hymn VI, 56, we find the earliest tradition of his connection with Thebes ; there we learn that he was reported to be the son of Zeus and Semele, the daughter of Cadmus. Pindar refers to Semele in the second Olympian ode : "The long haired Semele still lives among the gods on Olympus, though she perished with the crash of the thunderbolt, she is ever the favourite of Pallas and of father Zeus especially, and of her son too the ivy-bearing god". Cicero, indeed, in his work " De natura deorum" distinguishes five Dionysi (III, 23), and Diodorus three, but the coins of Boeotia bear witness only to the ideas connected with the legends of Homer and Pindar. The legend of Hera's jealousy of Semele, and the death of the mother from the fire of Zeus is referred to by Ovid in *Met.*, IV, 4.

Pausanias in III, 24, § 3 tells another tradition of the death of Semele, how she was put into a chest by Cadmus and drifted on the sea to Brasiæ, where the plain was called in consequence, the garden of Dionysus.

Theocritus XXVI, Euripides Bacch. 1142. and Ovid, *Met.* III, 714, relate how Dionysus compelled the women of Thebes to go out to the mountains to seek the frenzied Bacchic dancers. Most of the traditions concerning Bacchus and his rites are of much later date than the Homeric Hymns and these early coins.

Apparently he was originally the personification of the overflowing and intoxicating power of nature, and wine was his natural emblem. Dionysus was the god of wine, the introducer of the culture of the vine, the giver of joy, and the disperser of sorrow. He was the god of inspiration, the revealer of oracles, and the healer of sickness.

The Greek drama grew out of the dithyrambic choruses sung at his festivals.

Human sacrifices are referred to by Pausanias, VII, 21 in connection with Dionysus, and these may have been a reminiscence of Phoenician rites.

He is said to have " hated the sight of an owl", Pausan. VIII, 39, a reference to the quarrels between Thebes and Athens.

On the coins the most common symbol of the god is the wine-jar,

the double-handled amphora, sometimes decorated with the ivy-leaf, but there are also some fine heads of the deity wearing an ivy-wreath and bearded.

Grapes appear as symbols on coins of the period 379-338 B.C. and on Hemidrachms of the period 426-395 B.C.

The myth of the Sphinx in the story of Oedipus may be connected with that of Dionysus. In the Scholiast ad Hesiod. (Theog., 326) the Sphinx is said to have been sent to Thebes by Dionysus.

On coins of Chios the Sphinx is represented with the symbols of the wine-god, and was evidently connected in that island with his cult.

I. PERIOD. 600-500 B.C.

The Standard of weight during the nine Periods here described was Aeginetan.

The federation of cities, worshipping Poseidon of Calauria on the Saronic gulf, has been mentioned in the notes on the story of Aegina; as members of that Federation, the citizens of Orchomenus in Boeotia became acquainted with the coinage of Aegina.

As at Athens before the time of Solon, so in Boeotia, the Aeginetan staters were the first coins in circulation.

When local need arose for smaller coins they were supplied at first by the city of Orchomenus, in which a mint was instituted for the striking of obols.

These coins were formed in close imitation of the coinage of Aegina, but instead of the tortoise on the Obverse, the dwellers in the rich wheat plains round Orchomenus placed an ear of corn on their small coinage. The Reverse was identical with that of the Aeginetan money.

The Boeotian coinage, properly so-called, commenced shortly after the year 600 B.C. and is distinguished by the Obverse type, the oval shield with a semi-circular opening on either side; it is probable that the type originated at Thebes, where Heracles was worshipped as the patron deity of that city.

The Reverse of these earliest coins is of the early Aeginetan pattern, eight triangular compartments, often of rude form, four of which are in relief, and the other four deeply indented.

When this coinage was issued from Thebes there was no letter to mark the place of issue, but when the mint of Haliartus issued coins they were marked with the letters 𐌇—𐌇 in the semi-circular openings of the shield, and when they were issued from Tanagra, with the letters 𐌕—𐌕 in the same position. These three cities, Thebes, Haliartus, and Tanagra seem to have been the only mint-cities of this early period. Orchomenus was not a member of

the Boeotian League, and continued to issue the Obols with the wheat-corn type independently.

The coins of the League issued from Thebes consisted of Drachms 95.9 grains, Half-drachms 45.3 grs., Obols 15 grs., Hemiobols 7.7 grs., Tetartemorions 2.7 grs.

All these coins are rare.

The coins of Haliartus were Drachms 95 grs., with the letters Ⅲ—Ⅲ, Drachms of 93.5 grs. with the letters 日—日.

The coins of Tanagra, Drachms 68.5 grs. ⊣—⊢ and Drachms 92 grs. with only one ⊢, Hemidrachms 41.5 gr., with ⊣—⊢, Obols 15.5 same.

This first period of the Boeotian coinage began about the time of the Cirrhean or Sacred war, which lasted ten years, from 595 to 585 B.C. Then, Crœsus of Lydia was a youth, and in Athens Solon was Archon. The Pythian games were instituted at the end of the sacred war.

Periander, who introduced coinage to Corinth, died about that same time. This was the period during which the seven sages of Greece are supposed to have flourished, and Aesopus and Anacreon were among the most celebrated men. In 560 B.C. Solon died, and Peisistratus usurped the government of Athens.

The earliest period of the coins of Boeotia therefore synchronises with that of Corinth and Athens.

II. PERIOD. 550-480 B.C.

The Stater or Didrachm makes its first appearance in this second period. The Obverse is the same, with the exception that the letters, indicating from which mint the coin was issued, no longer appear in the spaces on either side of the shield.

The Reverse type is more symmetrical, the alternate incuse triangles, four in number, form the device called the mill-sail pattern, and the mint-letters appear on a circle in the centre of the device, or as on the coins of Tanagra in one of the incuse triangles.

Acræphium issued Staters 192 grs., Obols 12.5 gr., Hemiobols 7.5 grs. The letters are formed 卩 or 人.

Coroneia. Drachms 93 gr., Obols 15.7 grs., Hemiobols 7.5 grs., Tetartemorions 2.7 grs., with the letter ♀ on 犬.

Haliartus. Staters 190.5 grs., Drachms 94 grs., Hemidrachms 47.2 grs., Obols 15 gr., Tetartemorions 2.7 grs. with 目 or 日 or 凵

Myçalessus. Staters 189 grs., Drachms 93 grs., Hemiobols 7.5 grs. with M on R.

Pharæ. Staters 192.1 grs., also 189 grs., and 200 grs., Drachms 95 grs., Hemidrachms 47 grs., Obols 16 grs. with Φ on R.

Tanagra. Drachms 90.2 grs. ⊢ in one opening on Obverse and ⊢—⊢ in alternate incuse triangles on R.

Thebes. Staters 192.7 grs., Drachms 95.5 grs., Hemidrachms. 46.5 grs., Obols 16.4 grs., Hemiobols 8.3 grs., Tetartemorions 3 grs.

Staters 190.2 grs. with ⊕ in centre of R. and ⊕ E ⋿ 日 in the incuse triangles on R.; Staters 190 grs. with ⊕ in the centre of a star or floral pattern, the whole in incuse square on R.

Seven cities are represented by the coins of this second period, but we do not know whether these cities only were members of the League, or whether others, not thus represented on the coinage, may have been less important members thereof.

The coins of Orchomenus belonging to this period still consisted of the smaller pieces, the Obols, and Hemiobols, bearing the same Obverse, the sprouting corn-grain, and the Aeginetan incuse R. similar to those of the same period issued in Aegina. All the coins of this period are rare.

The fact that none of these coins of Orchomenus bear the shield, the device of the League, shows that the city continued to stand aloof from the confederacy, but the fact that only the smaller coins were issued shows that the independence claimed was not complete.

The letters on these coins are ∃—R or R—E on either the Obverse or the Reverse. One Obol, the heaviest known, weighing 16.5gr., bears E on the Obverse and no letter on the R.

During this second period Boeotia made great advances in commercial activity, for the coinage was plentiful, and the larger coins, the Didrachms, made their first appearance.

Croesus was a boy during the first period, and his death took place four years after this second period began.

The first few years of this second period correspond to the time of the victorious career of Cyrus in Asia Minor, Babylon itself fell before him in 538 B.C., and he died nine years afterwards. During the last twenty-two years of this period, from 521 B.C., Darius was reigning; he crossed the Hellespont in 512 B.C. and conquered Thrace.

In 499 B.C. the power of the Persians was checked by the Ionian revolt in Asia Minor, but eight years afterwards Darius sent heralds to Greece demanding earth and water, and in 490 B.C. the battle of Marathon was fought.

The coins of this period may be associated with that event.

Five years later Xerxes succeeded Darius, and during the last years of this period prepared for his invasion of Greece.

The great men whose names may be associated with these days are Pythagoras who died in 497, Sophocles who was born in 495, Herodotus in 484, and Aeschylus, who fought with shield and spear at Marathon.

III. PERIOD. 480-457 B.C.

The results of the Persian war were disastrous to Boeotia, and only three cities, Tanagra, Thebes, and Orchomenus, issued coins during the next twenty-three years.

Thebes appears from the coinage to have lost her supremacy, her place being taken by Tanagra on whose coins the letters Β or Β—Ο, or Β—Ο—Ι signify that the coins were issued for all the Boeotians. Tanagra issued Staters 190.8 grs., with the letters Τ—⌶ in the openings of the shield on the Obverse, and Β in a circle in the centre of the mill-sail incuse of the Rℒ. Also Staters 186.7 grs. with Τ on the rim of the shield, and ⊣—≻ in the side openings, and on the Reverse Β—Ο—Ι in three quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in an incuse circle. Also Staters bearing $\frac{\perp}{\mathsf{T}}$ on the rim of the shield, and Β—Ο in two quarters of a wheel similar to the last described. Obols 15.5 grs., a Boeotian shield with Β in an incuse square on Reverse.

Tanagra at the same time issued a series of coins which were probably meant for circulation in and around the city, as the only letters appearing upon them are the initials of the town. They appear as follows, Staters 184 grs. ⊣—⌶ in the openings of the shield and also ⊣≻ in the spaces of the wheel.

Stater 187.4 grs.; no letter on Obverse, ΑΤ in the wheel of Rℒ.

Stater 186 grs. $\frac{\perp}{\mathsf{T}}$ at both ends of shield. No letters on Rℒ.

Hemidrachm 45.5 grs.; ⊣—⊢ in openings of shield. No letters on Rℒ.

Hemidrachm 47.8 grs. ⊣ in one opening. On Rℒ. Τ—Α in space of wheel on Rℒ.

Obol 14.5 grs. Shield, no letter. On Rℒ. wheel of four spokes in incuse square (not a letter ⊕).

The wheel on these coins, the symbol of Apollo, the sun-god, was borrowed from Chalcis in Euboea, distant only about 12 English miles.

Thebes, 480-457 B.C. The coinage of this period of the humiliation of the city is rather rare.

As the mint officers of Tanagra adopted a new Reverse type so

also did those of Thebes, and the old mill-sail pattern gave place to the wine-jar or amphora of Dionysus in an incuse square; no letters appear on any of these coins.

Staters 182.2 grs., Drachms 94 gr., Obols. 15.5 grs.

The old type for the Obverse was always preserved.

Orchomenus, 480-457 B.C. The coins of this period issued from this city are much flatter in fabric than those coined before the Persian war, they consist of Obols 12.5 grs., E—P. sprouting grain of corn, and on R/. the latest form of Aeginetan Reverse.

Tritemorions 10.2 grs., E—P. Three grains of corn. Same R/.

Tetartemorions E—R. A sprouting corn-grain. Same R/.

The latest Obols of Aegina were those issued just before the city surrendered to the Athenians in 456 B.C.

The third period 480 to 457 was that of the invasion of Xerxes.

The Boeotians did not meet the southern states at the Isthmian congress, they knew the Persians would come through their land, and it was hopeless for them to resist alone.

The oligarchs of Thebes were favourable to the Persian cause. Four hundred Thebans however were present at Thermopylæ, and their lives were spared by the victorious Persians after being branded as bad slaves. (Herod VII, 202.) Thebes was the base used by Mardonius, the Persian leader, and the Boeotians defended the Persians in their flight. Herodotus preserves the names of the Theban leaders Timagenidas and Attagenus (VII, 68).

The battle at Plataea gave freedom to that city for a time, but was a cause of humiliation in Thebes, for ten days afterwards the Theban leaders were executed.

The battle of Cithaeron was one of the decisive battles of the world; never again could Persia invade Greece.

During the rest of this period Athens was occupied with her disputes with Corinth and Sparta, and Boeotia was slowly recovering from the ravages of the Persian war.

Plutarch's Aristides I. gives Boeotian views and local history.

IV. PERIOD. 456-446 B.C.

In 457 B.C. Sparta, fearing lest the Boeotians should be compelled to join in alliance with her enemies the Athenians, sent a force into Boeotia, nominally to punish the Phocians for assaulting the Dorians, but really to make Thebes the head of the Boeotian cities.

They helped to refortify Thebes, and established oligarchical government in all the Boeotian cities.

In 457 at the battle of Tanagra the Athenians were defeated, but

in the following year Athens gained such a decisive victory at Oenophyta, near Tanagra, that she became mistress of all Boeotia and Central Greece.

The Athenians turned out the oligarchical rulers and substituted democracies in all the cities.

This democratic rule lasted ten years until 446 B.C. and the five cities which issued coins during that period celebrated the recovery of their autonomy by the issue of coins bearing their own names and types.

Pindar, the great Boeotian poet, died in 448; the coins of this period would be those used by him during the last eight years of his life.

Aeschylus, the great Athenian poet, died in 456 B.C. at Gela.

Confer "The Age of Pericles" 2 vols, London, 1875, for details, and the criticism of Plutarch, Pericles on p. 185 Adolf Holm, vol. II.

Acræphium, 456-446 B.C. issued Staters 180.5 grs. with the normal Obverse the shield, and on the Reverse A—K a drinking cup called Kantharos, above which a laurel-leaf, the whole in an incuse square.

The type refers to the cult of Dionysus, to whom a temple was erected in that city (Pausan. IX, 23, 3).

Coroneia issued a Hemidrachm bearing the shield on the Obverse and a Gorgon head in an incuse square with the letters K—O—ϘO.

It is to be noted that the old letter Ϙ has given place to the K and that the Ϙ still retains its ancient form.

The type refers to the cult of Athena Itonia.

Haliartus. This city had been destroyed in 480 B.C. by the Persians, but it must have been rebuilt, for we have coins belonging to this period 456-446 B.C.

Staters 188.4 grs. The rim of the Shield studded with nails; on the Reverse an Amphora wreathed with ivy and the letters I—B—A the whole in an incuse square.

Obols 16.5 grs. shield; on Reverse $\frac{\text{I}}{\text{B A}}$ Kantharos in square.

Tetartemorions 3.4 grs. Shield. Rℒ. A Kantharos in square.

Tanagra. In this period issued Staters 188 grs. The shield's rim divided into twelve sections. Reverse T—A. Forepart of a horse springing to left, in incuse square.

Some bear the letters $\frac{\text{A—T}}{\text{N—A}}$.

Staters 183 grs. Shield with the rim plain. Rℒ. T—A. Similar horse bridled.

Staters 189 grs. Similar Obv. Rℒ. Similar to last, but a wreath around horse's shoulder.

Some bear the letters ΤΑΝ instead of Τ—Α.

Hemidrachms 47 grs. Similar types.

Obols 15.5 grs. shield. Rℒ. Τ—Α. Horse's head in square.

Hemiobols 5.5 grs. Half-shield. Rℒ. Similar to last.

On this Reverse type, the horse is thought by some to be a symbol of the River Asopus which forces its way through a rocky ravine near Tanagra, but a more probable interpretation is found in the symbol being a representation of the worship of Apollo, the Sun-god, which would be in harmony with the symbolic wheel on the older coinage of that city.

Thebes during the period 456-446 B.C. issued Staters 187.5 grs. the Boeotian shield, and on the Reverse Ǝ—⊕ an Amphora in an incuse square.

Staters 186.6 grs. Similar. Rℒ. ⊕—Ε. Similar type.

Hemidrachms 46.2 grs. Similar. Rℒ. ⊕. Similar.

Hemiobols 5.5 grs. Similar. Rℒ. ⊕. Similar.

Staters and Drachms of Thebes, when not in very fine condition, may be obtained for less than ten shillings, the other coins are all rare.

The Athenians deserted their old allies and left the city Plataea to perish.

V. PERIOD. 446-426 B.C.

The preservation of peace for twelve years between Athens and her continental neighbours was owing to the wisdom of Pericles. This period was also that in which Sophocles produced "the Antigone" concerning the question of the relationship of the individual to the state, in 442 B.C., the year in which Thucydides was ostracised. These were the days when Pheidias was at work on the statue of Athene at Athens, finished 438, and the Zeus at Olympia. The thirty years' peace with the Peloponnese began in 446. For Thebes this period began prosperously; the Athenians, who had dispatched a force under Tolmides to expel the oligarchs from Orchomenus, were defeated, the democratic governors of all the Boeotian cities were removed, and the exiled oligarchs restored.

Thebes became the leading city of Boeotia, Plataea alone remaining faithful to Athens.

The Theban attack upon Plataea in 431 and the siege lasting two years are celebrated events. Thebes was then supreme.

During 430 the great plague visited Athens, and Pericles died the year after.

During this fifth period we have coins of Thebes only ; no other city appears to have issued any money.

The Staters bear the usual shield on the obverse, and on the Reverse the legend ΘΕΒΑΙΟΣ, or ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ. There are nine different Reverse types formed with the figure of Heracles in different attitudes, all are in an incuse square.

1. Heracles naked, advancing to r., holding club and bow.
2. Heracles naked, kneeling to r. on one knee, stringing his bow.
3. Heracles kneeling to r. on one knee, and shooting an arrow from his bow.
4. Heracles naked, stooping, and stringing his bow, in front a club.
5. Heracles naked, striding to right, carrying off the Delphic tripod, and wielding his club.
6. Heracles as an infant kneeling, strangling the serpents.
7. Similar type, but in a more upright position.
8. Similar type, but to left a large ivy-leaf added.
9. Heracles wearing short chiton and chlamys, kneeling to r., and looking back, both hands raised, his right hand holding the club.

All these coins are rare; seldom to be met with for less than £. 5.

Another Stater bears on the Reverse ΘΕΒΑ, a female figure seated to right on a stool holding a helmet in her hand.

This female figure is considered by Dr B. Head to represent Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and the wife of Cadmus the Theban hero.

The Hemidrachms of this period bear the shield on obv., and on Rℒ. ΞΒΟ, Kantharos in incuse square, 47 grs. The Obols 16.8 grs., similar types to the Hemidrachms. Some Obols 15 grs., shield on Obv. and on Rℒ. Θ in incuse square. The date of the coins cannot be decided by the use of the antique forms of the letters. The introduction of the more modern form was a gradual process. The archaic letters are found on coins as late as 370 B.C. The style of art, and the fabric form surer guides as to time of issue than the shapes of the letters. The style of Art during this period resembles that of the Metopes of the Parthenon. After Pheidias a remarkable change took place in Greek art of which there are no indications in the types above-mentioned.

VI. PERIOD. 426-395 B.C.

During this period of thirty-one years Thebes appears to have been the only city issuing coinage in Boeotia. In the first year Demosthenes negotiated with the disaffected Boeotians with a view

to gaining Chaeronea, and Siphae the port of Thespiæ on the Corinthian gulf.

He planned that on the same day the Athenian party in Chaeronea should take that city, Demosthenes should take Syphae by a naval attack, and Hippocrates should cross the border at Oropus, and fortify the precincts of Apollo at Delium, but their plans failed. The Athenians were defeated at Delium; 500 Boeotians and 1000 Athenians, among them Hippocrates himself, were slain. In that battle Socrates saved the life of Alcibiades. The reason why Thebes was able to show such power at that time was that she trusted her best men who were highly cultured, her democracy therefore was stronger than that of Athens who never trusted her ablest men. The story of the burning the walls at Delium (on p. 444 Bury, *Hist. Greece*) shows the Boeotians were not the dull people some thought them.

In 421 the peace of Nicias was celebrated by the play of Aristophanes. The years which followed were those of the decline and fall of Athens and the supremacy of Sparta through Persian aid.

The rebellion of Cyrus and the march of the 10.000 Greeks took place in 401, and placed Sparta in a new relation to Persia.

In 396 Athens sent an army to assist the Boeotians against Sparta.

The coins of this period bearing the Amphora are common but those bearing the heads of Heracles, or Dionysus, usually are sold for several pounds. The Staters bear three types, 1st the bearded head of Heracles in profile or facing; in style they preserve much of the archaic treatment; 2nd The bearded head of Dionysus; 3rd An Amphora, which was probably the latest issued, as it was the type ultimately adopted.

Drachms do not appear to have been issued during this period. The Hemidrachms bear the Kantharos, and the Obols the Club of Heracles, or a bunch of grapes.

These smaller coins are common. The ancient incuse square is still retained on all the coins, but is less sharply defined than on the older series. A remarkable innovation in the spelling appears on the coins of this period; instead of the old form ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ we find ΘΕΒΗ[ΟΝ], the letter Η taking the place of the diphthong ΑΙ.

VII. PERIOD. 395-387 B.C..

The Theban leader Ismenias expelled the Spartans from Thessaly.

In 395 the Spartan Lysander was slain at Haliartus, and Pausanias was forced to retreat. In that same year the great Anti-Spartan

alliance of the citizens of Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Thebes was formed. Next year the Spartan Agesilaus invaded Boeotia from the north, and was forced to retire after his defeat at Coroneia.

The war continued near Corinth for about six years. Athens rebuilt her walls, and strengthened her forces by Persian support. In 391 abortive peace negotiations were carried on, Thebes offering to recognize the autonomy of Orchomenus. At last the peace of Antalcidas was concluded through the influence of that Spartan diplomatist by which the Boeotian confederacy was dissolved, and each city recognized as independent.

The intimate relations of the Greeks with the Persians during this period resulted in an influx of Persian gold. Timocrates brought 50 talents to Corinth, Thebes, and Argos for the promotion of the Satrap Tithraustes, who slew and succeeded Tissaphernes.

The Boeotian type of the infant Heracles strangling the snakes was adopted at the time of the negotiations for the peace of Antalcidas 394-3 by the Anti-Spartan alliance Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Jasus and Rhodes. It was an age of federal experiments.

In the west, Croton and Zacynthus came to a secret understanding against the extension of the Syracusan empire, and engraved upon their coinage the same type which appeared also at Cyzicus, cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 360. The type seems to have been adopted as a symbol of liberty.

All the coins of this period appear to have been issued from Thebes.

The first pale gold or electrum coinage consisted of small half-drachms weighing 46.3 grs. bearing ⊙—E, the head of Dionysus bearded to right wearing a wreath of ivy, and on the Reverse the infant Herakles seated, facing, with head turned to left strangling serpents, with club beneath. Obols weighing 15.8 grs. similar Obverse and Reverse but no club.

Æ. Staters bearing on ℞. ⊙, an Amphora with the upper part fluted, some with a bow in field to left, some with a club or bunch of grapes, some with an ivy-leaf attached to handle, some with a wreath of ivy covering the field.

These are worth about fifteen shillings.

Other Staters bear on ℞. the infant Herakles seated, facing, head to right, strangling serpents; on one there is a bow in field to right; these are rare.

Other Staters bear on ℞. a head of bearded Dionysus, facing, wearing ivy-wreath, field nearly flat. These are rare. Tritemorions 10.2 grs. Three half-shields; in centre, ⊙. ℞. same as Obv. but on each half-shield a club.

Hemi-obols 5.7 grs. Obv. Half-shield, on which is a club. ℞. ⊙ΒΕ Amphora in field, to left a club.

Hemi-obol 5.2 grs. Obv. similar, but no club. ℞. Similar, but no

club. Tetartemorion, Shield ℞. Θ·Ε Kantharos; above, a club. The incuse square is never found in this period.

These small pieces may be obtained for less than 5 shillings each.

VIII. PERIOD. 387-379 B.C.

Boeotia during this period was under the influence of Spartan harmosts and garrisons, the separatist party in each city being upheld by the Spartans. After the signing of the peace of Antalcidas no general assemblies of the Boeotarchs were held, the confederacy being broken up.

Even in Thebes itself there was a Spartan party, and Spartan influence was supreme.

In 382 Pelopidas, the Theban hero, was obliged to flee to Athens, and four years later he returned and gained possession of the Cadmeia. In 378 he induced the Spartan Harmost of Thespiæ to invade Attica and thus embroiled the Spartans with the Athenians while he taught the Thebans that they were able to meet their Spartan foes.

In 376 the old confederacy was renewed, and by the end of the period 374 B.C. only Orchomenus remained outside the League until 371 B.C.

At no other period can we see such a variety of coin-types or the issue of so many independent mints. The Boeotian shield however is still seen on the obverse of these coins, perhaps as the result of long custom.

At Chaeroneia Hemidrachms, 36 grs., bear a club on ℞. ΧΑΙ. Bronze coins were issued with the same symbol ΧΑΙΡΟΝΕ. At Copae, Obols, 10.8 grs., forepart of a bull, ΚΩΡΑΙΩΝ. Bronze coins; bull's head facing, Κ-Ω.

At Coroneia, Obols, 14 gr., Κ-Ο, Gorgon head in circular incuse. Other Obols Ο-Ϟ. Head of Athena Itonia facing. All these small coins are rather rare. At Haliartus, Staters, 182 grs. ΑΡΙΑΡΤΙΟΖ, naked Poseidon. Extremely rare. The temple of Poseidon at Onchestus, near Haliartus, was the place in which the Amphictyonic council met.

At Lebadeia, Diobols, a thunder-bolt, Λ-Ε·ΒΑ in two lines. At Mycalessus, Obols, Hemiobols, and Tetartemorions bearing a thunderbolt and Μ-Υ; all rather scarce.

At Orchomenus, the old sprouting grains of corn on obverse, and a free horse, or a wheel of four spokes, or a wreath of corn, or an ear of corn; on ℞. of Tritemorions. Ε Ρ, or ΕR. Other coins (Staters) of Orchomenus bear magistrates' names with an amphora, or similar types to the above.

At Plataea on the ℞. of Hemidrachms, the head of Hera facing or in profile with ΓΛΑ : these are the only known silver coins of

Plataea and they are rare, and Bronze coins bearing a laurel-wreath or a bull walking.

At Tanagra, Staters and Obols with T—A, the forepart of a horse with a laurel-wreath on his neck.

Hemiobols and Tetartemorions with T—A and a horse's head.

Obols with A·T the stern of a galley, in remembrance of its port Aulis, which could contain fifty galleys.

At Thebes, only Hemidrachms and Tetartemorions appear to have been issued; they bear BO—IΩ, a Kantharos with fulmen above, Tetartemorions B—O. Bunch of grapes.

At Thespiæ, Hemidrachms, Amphora, no inscription.

Obols, two crescents back to back, ΘEϽ ΓI.

Obols, ΘEϽ, crescent with horns upwards.

UNCERTAIN Hemidrachms, Amphora in incuse square with the letters AϘ, or AP, or AI, or ΛO, or ΛΩ.

Tetartemorions, HI, bunch of grapes.

Dr Head thinks these are names of magistrates and are of a later period.

The coin most commonly met with in this series is that of Thespiæ bearing the crescent on the Reverse; the others are all more or less rare.

IX. PERIOD. 379-338 B.C.

In 379 B.C. a new series of coins appeared, bearing the names of about forty different magistrates.

They bear on the Obverse the old Boeotian shield, and on the Reverse an amphora with symbols, such as a wreath, a club, a dolphin, grapes, corn-grain, ivy-branch, bull's head, ivy-wreath, rose, crescent, laurel-wreath, and arrow. Among the names of the magistrates occurs the famous name of Epaminondas, thus EΓΓA, or EΓAMI, or EΓAM. He was Boetarch in the years 371, 370, 369, 367, 363 and 362. Coins bearing his name are not common but some of those bearing other names may be obtained for about ten shillings.

The names of the three friends of Pelopidas also occur, Damokleidas, Theopompus, and Ismenias, thus, ΔAMO, ΘEOΓ, and HIΣME; this latter was the son of the celebrated Ismenias.

On the Ɍ. of the smaller silver coins, and on the obverse of the Bronze, we see the head of a youthful Heracles wearing the lion's skin. These small coins are only valued at about five shillings.

These coins with the Amphoræ and the magistrates' names are associated with the following events.

In 379 B.C. Thebes was in the hands of the Lacedemonians whose rule was despotic and cruel. Some of the exiled Thebans

living in Athens determined to free their city from the Spartans, and Pelopidas, the friend of Epaminondas, arranged a plot. Six exiles entered Thebes in disguise, and aided by Phyllidas, secretary of the Spartan polemarchs, issued from the house of Charon, and slew the polemarchs Archias and Philippus. On the next day Pelopidas, Mellon, and Charon were made polemarchs, and a democratic institution was established.

The Spartans in the Cadmea capitulated, and Cleombrotus was sent to Boeotia, but accomplished nothing.

As Athens was at peace with Sparta the Athenians had to execute one, and banish the other of the two strategi who aided the Thebans.

The Spartan Harmost of Thespiæ invaded Attica, and as he was unpunished by his king, Athens waged war on Sparta, and entered into alliance with Thebes; the war lasted six years till 373 B.C.

In Thebes the sacred Lochos, a new troop of 300 hoplites, all men of noble families, was instituted.

Boeotia was invaded by Agesilaus, but the Spartan garrisons were turned out of the Boeotian cities, only at Orchomenus and Chaeronea were the Spartans able to hold their ground. At Tegyra the Thebans routed the Spartans and slew their generals.

In 371 the Athenians sent Callistratus and Callias to Sparta to a congress and the Thebans sent Epaminondas, and the Peace of Callias was established. Afterwards Thebes was left out of the treaty as the Spartans refused to recognize Thebes as the ruler of Boeotia.

Cleombrotus marched against Thebes and Jason of Thessaly joined in alliance with the Thebans. When Cleombrotus arrived at Leuctra he was met by the Thebans under Epaminondas and 1000 Spartans fell with their king.

Next year Jason was slain. Thebes became the invader of the Peloponnese and in Boeotia Thebes was the ruling city. Epaminondas ravaged the Peloponnese. Athens was asked to aid the Spartans and sent an army under Iphicrates who went to Corinth to trouble the returning army of the Boeotians. When Epaminondas heard succour for the Spartans was arriving from Syracuse, he decided to return, and he was not re-elected Boetarch for the next year. When peace was being arranged by the Persians, Thebes sent Pelopidas to Susa on their behalf, and he was successful; a congress of allies was convoked at Thebes, but the will of Thebes was opposed, and Epaminondas advanced into Achaea.

In 366 B.C. Oropus was taken by the Thebans, and Sparta made peace with Thebes; the strife now was with Athens.

In the north, Pelopidas was sent to fight Alexander of Thessaly, and concluded an alliance with Macedonia. Pelopidas brought to

Thebes among the hostages the boy Philip, destined to become the maker of Macedonia.

In Thebes he was trained by Epaminondas himself. Pelopidas was detained at Pheræ, and a Boeotian army was sent to release him, the army was saved by Epaminondas, who was elected Boetarch; he then advanced and relieved his friend Pelopidas.

In 365 B.C. Macedonia freed itself from Thebes, and sought alliance with Athens, next year Epaminondas made a navy of a 100 triremes and sailed against the Athenians, meanwhile Pelopidas advanced against Alexander and won a victory in 363 at Cynocephalæ which cost him his life, and Thessaly became a Boeotian dependency. In 364 B.C. Orchomenus was destroyed.

In 362 B.C. Thebes sent an army to the Peloponnese under Epaminondas. He won his last victory at Mantinea, but the victory was in vain, and the army made peace. Next year Agesilaus, the Spartan general, died on the way to Cyrene.

Philip returned to Macedonia aged 24 and made friends with the Athenians, crushed his enemies, and obtained gold in Thrace.

In 354 B.C. the Thebans were hampered by want of money, they had no mines like Philip, no rich temple like Phocis, so many of the Thebans hired themselves to Artabazus.

Demosthenes now began his orations against Philip; he had strong leanings towards Thebes, and was Theban proxenos at Athens. In 338 Philip advanced southwards and Athens sent ten envoys to Thebes, and made an alliance against Philip. The armies met at Chaeronea; there the sacred Lochos fell, and Philip and his son Alexander triumphed. The Federal congress was held at Corinth in the same year.

The leading citizens of Thebes were either slain or exiled, and the Boeotian cities regained autonomy.

In 335 B.C. the Thebans rose and slew Timolaus, the leading supporter of Philip, but Alexander appeared, Thebes was taken by storm, and her inhabitants slaughtered. The ancient city was levelled with the ground, the Cadmeia alone being preserved as a fortress for the conquerors.

The coinage of Boeotia issued after this bore the letters ΒΟΙΩ, and must have been struck in the cities spared by Philip. Orchomenus issued the didrachms, and Thespiæ the smaller currency. The types were the old shields, and amphora, and club or grapes.

After 315 B.C. we meet with the Alexandrine types with the symbol of Boeotia, the shield.

The wide-spread coinage of Alexander will be the next series to be studied: the fall of Thebes forms the natural link between his coinage and that of the earlier series of common currencies.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE NINE PERIODS.

1. Aeginetic drachms from Thebes, Haliartus and Tanagra.
℞. Eight rough triangles, four indented, four raised.

II. First issue of Didrachms in Boeotia.

Mints of Thebes, Acraephium, Coroneia, Haliartus, Mycalessus, Pharae, and Tanagra.

The initial letter of the city in a circle in centre of Reverse type of incuse triangles.

III. Period of humiliation of Thebes.

First introduction of Reverse types.

Tanagra the official mint of the period.

The wheel on Tanagra coinage; a plain amphora on that of Thebes in an incuse square.

IV. Period of Athenian influence at Thebes, and of Democracy.

Mint cities Acræphium, ℞. Kantharos.
Coroneia, ℞. Gorgon-head.
Haliartus, ℞. Amphora, Kantharos.
Tanagra, ℞. Half-horse.
Thebes, ℞. Amphora.

V. Renewed ascendency of Thebes.

The only mint issuing coinage was that of Thebes.

℞. types, figures of Heracles with bow or tripod or strangling snakes, and a figure of Harmonia, wife of Cadmus. On smaller coins the Amphora. Considerable artistic merit in types, contemporary with work of the school of Pheidias.

VI. Continued hegemony of Thebes.

Thebes continues the only city issuing coinage.

℞. types. Fine heads of Heracles and Dionysus, Amphora and Θ Ε in field, on smaller coins the club of Heracles.

VII. Anti-Spartan alliance between Thebes, Corinth, Argos and influx of Persian gold.

Gold coins first issued at Thebes. Obv. head of Dionysus. ℞. Heracles strangling snakes. Æ. ℞. types, Amphora Θ Ε and Amphora with wreath Θ Ε, Heracles strangling snakes, head of Dionysus facing (*N B.* the old incuse square was abandoned altogether).

VIII. Peace of Antalcidas. Dissolution of the League. Establishment of Oligarchies under the Spartans.

Mints at Chaeroneia. Æ. & Æ. Type, Club.
Copæ. Æ. & Æ. Type, Half-bull.
Coroneia. Æ. Type, Gorgon-head
Head of Athene.
Haliartus. Æ. Poseidon Onchestius.

Lebadeia. Æ. Thunderbolt.
Mycalessus. Æ. Thunderbolt.
Orchomenus. Æ. Horse, amphora, wheel, corn-wreath, ear of corn, &c. Æ. star.
Pharæ. Æ. Amphora.
Plataea. Æ. Head of Hera, bull &c.
Tanagra. Æ. Half-horse, half-galley &c.
Thebes, for Boeotia. Half-drachms BO—I.
Thespiæ. Æ. Crescents, Head of Aphrodite, crescent, amphora with crescent.
Uncertain. Æ. Amphora A—P· Δ—I·ΛΩ·H— .

IX. Age of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Thebes supreme. A new federal coinage signed by the Boetarchs (?), or by the three Polymarchs in rotation.

Æ. R/. Types, amphora with symbols and initial letters. Æ. Head of young Heracles, and initials.

THE COINAGE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

In the last chapter the coinage of Boeotia was described up to the date of the destruction of Thebes by Alexander the Great, whose coinage thenceforth became better known than any of the series of coins hitherto described, and therefore may be looked upon as one of the most widely known series issued by the Greeks.

Yet strangely enough it is one of the least studied of all the series, and very little has been written on the subject. The authorities at the British Museum have published no catalogue like that of the Boeotian coins, so beautifully illustrated, and no catalogue has been issued from Berlin of this great series.

The best work on the subject is that by M. L. Müller published at Copenhagen in 1855, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*. It consists of two volumes, one of letterpress, the other of plates and tables of symbols, &c. In English we have only a few notes in the *Numismatic Chronicle* by Dr Head, E. Bunbury, and the brief description of the Macedonian coins in Dr Head's *Historia Numorum*.

The wide field over which this currency spread, the long time during which these tetradrachms were issued without change of type are witnesses to the power of the great man whose name they bear. His influence was the more remarkable on account of the opposition with which he had to contend. The supremacy of Macedon was resented by the Southern Greeks as almost foreign; even Thessaly was hardly considered truly Greek, and Macedon was even farther off.

The supremacy of Macedon meant the triumph of a monarchy over free commonwealths, and the title of King was hateful to many.

When Philip gathered the Greeks to Corinth he hoped to unite them by placing before them a common aim, the breaking of the Persian yoke, revenge for all they had suffered from that power.

But as a common fear had failed to unite them under Themistocles, so a common hope now failed in that object under Philip.

As these chapters have for their subject the common coins of the Greeks, the gold series will not be described; those who wish for

information on that series will find all they desire in Dr Head's *Historia Numorum*.

Before describing the types it will be interesting to notice the wisdom of the choice of the subjects, the deities represented. Both Heracles, whose head appears on the Obverse, and Zeus, whose seated figure is seen on the Reverse of the famous Tetradrachms, were thoroughly Greek deities, worshipped not only in one centre but throughout the cities of the Greeks. Both deities, however, were especially worshipped in Northern Greece; we see Heracles on coins of Oetaei from 400 to 344 B.C.

The coins of Boeotia witness to the popularity of his cult in that region. On coins of Sinde, near the Bosphorus, his head appears early in IV. cent. B.C. On coins of Heracleia Pontica in Bithynia, issued in 415-394 B.C. we see a head of a bearded Heracles, and from 353-347 B.C. from the same mint we find coins with a beardless head of the hero.

A head with the lion's skin appeared *circ.* 400 B.C. on coins of Stymphalus in Arcadia, and in Crete from 400 to 300 B.C. coins were issued bearing a figure of Heracles.

On coins of Mallus in Cilicia *circ.* 425-385 B.C. and on those of Soli, Tarsus, Salamis and Citium, we also find the hero's head or figure.

At Erythrae in Asia Minor, opposite the isle of Chios, the coins issued from B.C. 330 to 300 bear the usual type with the lion's skin. In the Island of Cos we find the same type, and also on the coins of the Carian city Termera.

The head of Heracles bearded appeared on Macedonian coins as early as the reign of Perdiccas II., *circ.* 454-413 B.C. and on the coins of Amyntas III. 389-369 B.C.

On the coins of Perdiccas III., 365-359 B.C., and of Philip II., 359-336 B.C., the head of Heracles appeared beardless and decorated with the lion's skin headdress, and it was this type which Alexander approved, whether he personally chose it or not, for his new coinage, issued just before the commencement of the great Persian war.

THE OBVERSE TYPE OF THE TETRADRACHMS.

There is no doubt that the head on all the earlier coins of Alexander was meant to represent that of Heracles, the national hero, but whether we may look for a portrait of Alexander himself wearing the lion's skin on some of the later coins, is a question which has been much debated.

In order to form an opinion on the subject we must first become familiar with the statues, gems and coins which are generally accepted as authentic portraits of Alexander the Great.

Great assistance has been given by the beautiful work, by Charles Ujfalvij, published in Paris in 1902 "*Le type physique d'Alexandre le Grand d'après les auteurs anciens et les documents iconographiques;*" also from the admirable work of Theodor Schreiber, published in Leipzig, 1903 "*Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen*", and from the work by Fr. Koepp *Uber das Bildniss Alexander's des Grossen*, published in Berlin, 1892.

From these works a clear impression of the face of the great warrior may be obtained.

The smaller portraits mentioned and reproduced are :

1. the Tetradrachms of Lysimachus,
2. the gold medal found at Tarsus,
3. the medal issued by Caracalla,
4. the broken cameo of Pyrgoteles which belonged to the Empress Josephine.

The marble statues or busts are:

1. the Hermes at the Louvre,
2. the Apoxyomenos in the Vatican,
3. the Head in the Capitol at Rome,
4. the Head in the Louvre,
5. the Head in the British Museum,
6. the Head in the Museum at Boston,
7. the Head from Magnesia at Constantinople,
8. the Head of the dying Alexander at Florence,
9. the great Sarcophagus of Sidon,
10. the Statue in the glyptothèque at Munich,
11. the Statue of Priene,
12. the Head from Pergamos.

The head represented on these ancient portraits is that of a young man with a refined type of manly beauty, the nose is very slightly curved in outline, the upper lip slightly short, the lips full and the brow prominent, the face is shaven and the hair in short locks.

The features differ from the head of Heracles on the earlier coins in their greater refinement and delicacy. Heracles is represented as a large heavy man, Alexander as a slighter younger man. The fulness of the jaw is greater in the portraits of Heracles.

From the work of L. Müller, published in 1855 at Copenhagen, we may gather the drift of the various writers on the subject.

The head of Heracles on the Obverse of Alexander's coins is considered by some writers to be sometimes very like that of Alexander, and many writers have taught that the resemblance was intentional; the following authors all support this view in various degrees, Visconti, Cadalvene, Cousinéry, Lenormant, Duchalais, Pinder, O. Müller, and Birch in the *Numismatic Chronicle* III. p. 145.

The principal reasons, assigned by these writers, are that Alexander during his lifetime allowed divine honours to be paid to him, and that he showed himself in public dressed in a lion's skin as Heracles. Also that his successors, who certainly allowed their own portraits to appear on their coins, were only following his example; some note also that on Roman medallions his portrait with the lion's skin appears with the name Alexander added.

Other authors, such as Eckhel, Stieglitz, and Arneth, have on the other hand noted that on very many of these coins the head bears no resemblance to that of Alexander, and that very similar heads appear on the coins of the Kings preceding Alexander and on the coins of cities which certainly would not have wished to exhibit his portrait. Moreover we know that Alexander forbad any artist to make a portrait of him, except only Lysippus, Apelles and Pyrgoteles.

Visconti considered that we should regard the head on the tetadrachms of Rhodes and Acca only as portraits of Alexander. Cousinéry, Birch, Cadalvene, and Duchalais thought all Alexander's coins with the lion's skin headdress bore portraits of the King.

These writers look upon the diversity of features seen on these coins as the natural result of their having been issued in so many diverse cities, and during such a long period of time, many of the artists never having seen the King whose portrait they wished to represent.

It cannot but be noticed that the early coins bear a head with features not only differing from those on the later coins, but evidently meant to be similar to those of Heracles on the coins of the preceding reigns.

It will also be generally agreed that Alexander was not looked upon as a divine hero in the earlier years of his campaign, the first traces of this attribution of divinity being seen during his victorious career in Asia.

It is moreover improbable that in the earliest years he should have ventured to change the old custom of placing the head of a deity on the coinage, and this improbability is supported by the

Coin of Period I.

fact that the head on Alexander's tetradrachms issued in the earlies- period in Macedonia is the same as that on the coins of his predet cessors.

The introduction of the royal portrait, however, may have taken place during his period of wonderful victory in the East, and after his death the portrait was continued as the expression of his apotheosis.

The head of the divine hero was replaced by that of the earthly hero most probably at first by certain magistrates or artists either as the expression of their enthusiasm or their flattery, and after his death it was continued by his successors and his loyal friends.

THE REVERSE TYPE.

There was a connection between the two deities chosen for the subjects of the coin-types, Heracles being regarded as a son of Zeus.

The god of the heavens was indeed the most suitable deity for the type of a coinage meant for the use of all the Greeks.

Although there were local cults embodying different ideas of the supreme deity, yet there existed among all the Greeks a clearly recognized worship of the Father of all the gods, the King of Heaven, so supreme that no god on Olympus would dare dispute his will. He was the god of the open air or heaven, and even approached the idea of deity held by monotheistic peoples, for his will and right were regarded as in harmony. He ordered all things in heaven and earth, and on the whole for the best. In the story of the Trojan war Homer represented Zeus as the supreme deity, impartial, favouring neither of the contending armies, as one equally at home on Olympus or on Ida. The other deities had special earthly homes, but Zeus was over all the earth. In " The Days and Works " of Hesiod the idea of Zeus presented by the poet is almost monotheistic. The oldest seat of his worship appears to have been Dodona in Epirus, about 80 miles west of Olympus.

Even to Homer's Achilles, Zeus is Dodonian and Pelasgic (Iliad XVI, 233). The later stories generally relate to Mount Ida in Crete or the Lycæan mountains in Arcadia, both places of divine worship from prehistoric times. All the centres of his worship were mountainous, and Olympus, the highest range in Greece, gave him his surname.

Olympia and Delphi became the religious centres of the Greek world. The Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus raised the character of the Southern cults of Zeus. From these considerations it is probable that Alexander, wishing to carry out his father's grand project of uniting the Greek race for the supreme struggle with Persia, chose or approved the choice of this deity for his special cult, and for the subject of his coin-types; moreover in Pella, the city in which he was born, the cult of Zeus was the most prominent,

and the influence of Aristotle his tutor may well have been on the side of such a choice. The head of Zeus had appeared on the tetradrachms of Alexander's father Philip II.

Justin (XXIV, 2) mentions the temple of Zeus at Pella as "Jovis Templum veterrimæ Macedonum religionis". As the owls which built their nests in the rocks of Athens, and the tortoises which frequented the shores of Aegina became symbols of Athene and Aphrodite, so the eagles of the high mountains naturally became the symbols of the god of the heavens, and hence the eagle seen on the outstretched hand of the figure of Zeus on the Tetradrachms.

The positions of the cities which issued coins bearing the figure of Zeus with an eagle resting on his hand bear witness to the wide-spread nature of the primitive cult of Zeus among the Greeks. They are Arcadia, Issus in Cilicia, Elis, and the Cretan Olus. The eagle as a symbolic type may illustrate the lines in Homer's Iliad (XII, 201-209) describing the fight around the ships. "For as they (the Trojans) sought to cross the ditch, they paused, a sign from heaven appeared to leftward of the astonished crowd, a soaring eagle in his talons bore a serpent huge of size and blood-red in hue."

On the coins of Elis, the land sacred to Olympian Zeus, we see the eagle carrying off either a serpent or a hare. The eagle appears alone as the type on the early coins of Olynthus (479-392 B.C.), on the early coins of Siphnos (600 B.C.) and on coins of Aphytes in Macedonia we see sometimes one eagle and sometimes two face to face. Justin says (12, 16, 5) of the two eagles on coins of Alexander that they were "omen duplicis imperii Europæ Asiæ præferentes".

On the Reverse of the earliest tetradrachms of Alexander (336 B.C.), we see an eagle on a fulmen with his head turned back. Pindar sings of the eagle on the sceptre of Zeus being moved by music, "dropping on both sides his swift pinion, King of birds, for a dark mist thou hast shed upon his curved head, locking his eyelids in sweet repose, and he, while he slumbers, heaves his supple back charmed by thy tremulous sounds" (Pyth., *Odes*, 1.6 seq.).

For further information concerning the Eagle of Zeus confer "*Der Adler als Attribut des Zeus*", by K. Sittl, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, 1885. The symbol of the eagle was that of the great god of heaven, whereas the Victory on the hand of the statue at Olympus was a local symbol, having reference to the victories in the games.

The question naturally arises as to whether the representation of Zeus on Alexander's tetradrachms was copied from some celebrated statue, or was specially designed for the coins.

The best and most modern works which should be consulted to

enable us to answer this question are the Atlas to the work of J. Overbeck " *Der Griechischen Kunst Mythologie* ", Leipzig, 1871 ; the " *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, par Salomon Reinach, Paris, E. Leroux Ed.; the " *Antike Denkmäler zur Griechischen Götterlehre* ", by C. O. Müller and F. Weiseler, Leipzig, 1899.

Overbeck gives no illustration of any figure of Zeus bearing on his hand either an eagle or a Victory, but the representations of the god in the early statues show him bearing an eagle on the sceptre.

Overbeck says in regard to the Reverse type of the tetradrachm, " All these coins show, in the figure of the god, although he is always represented nude as to the upper part, manifold little differences in the pose of the body, head, arms, and so on; these as well as the interchange of a chair without a back or a throne with a high back no doubt prove that it is a question of a figure specially designed for the coins, and not a copy of a statue, and at any rate quite certainly not an exact copy. "

But among the many illustrations given in the work by M. S. Reinach are some copies of mutilated statues of a seated Zeus which may well have been very like the figure on the coins. As it is known that many coin-types represent well-known statues by celebrated artists, it is at least very probable that these types are derived in a similar way. As examples we may take:

The head of Hera on coins of Plataea, thought to be copied from the statue by Praxiteles (Paus. IX, 2.7).

The Aphrodite of the Acro-corinthus (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 340).

The Aphrodite of Praxiteles on the coins of Cos (Head, p. 536).

The Eros of Praxiteles at Parium (Head, p. 459).

The Victory on coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, from the statue now in the Louvre. Confer the " *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* " pub. in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and afterwards reprinted by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner.

" The manifold little differences " in detail, spoken of by Overbeck, are only such as might naturally be expected from the diverse localities in which the coins were struck, and the natural freedom of treatment which artists would adopt in all good work and do not prove that the type did not originate in a copy from a statue.

At Dium there was a temple of Zeus, and there Philip held Olympian games like those celebrated at the Olympia in Elis.

Mr. O. Müller suggests that the statue represented on the coins may have been that of Dium, but it is more probable that if the type is a copy of a statue, it is one from the temple of Pella which itself may have been copied from Pheidias.

The Zeus Bottia is so called from the district in which Pella was situated.

To this deity Alexander built a temple at Apamea near to where Antioch was afterwards built. Alexander's devotion to Zeus is well-known. At important periods of his career he sacrificed to this god, or built temples in his honour, as, for instance, when he fought the Getæ, when he started for the Hellespont, and again at Aegæ and Sardis.

The possibility that on the Reverse of Alexander's tetradrachms we may possess a copy, however imperfect, of the famous statue wrought by Pheidias in the sacred grove at Olympia, adds considerably to the interest of the type. The probability that such is the case seems strong when we consider the great influence of Olympia and the work of Pheidias at the time when this design was being chosen. Dio Chrysostom represents Pheidias speaking of his "peaceful and gentle Zeus, the overseer as it were of united and harmonious Greece". If the sculptor uttered such words they were in harmony with the ideas which probably caused Alexander to adopt the design.

The great work, unfortunately, was destroyed by fire in the year 475 A.D. at Constantinople, whither it had been removed from Greece by Theodosius I. Bottiger has written a work on the copies made in ancient times from the original, and Quatremère de Quincy wrote his work *Le Jupiter Olympien* on this subject in 1815.

The work of Pheidias was classed among the Seven Wonders of the World, by Hyginas (Fab. 223), and it is naturally one of the subjects of the later literature of Greece.

It was related by Strabo that when Pheidias was asked what model he meant to follow in making the statue he replied in the following words from Homer's Iliad (A. 528-530): "He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows; waved on the immortal head the ambrosial locks, and all Olympus trembled at his nod." (Lord Derby's transn). Milton is said to have imitated Homer's lines in *Paradise Lost* (III, 135 seq.). Cicero says he fashioned the image not after any living model, but after that ideal beauty which he saw with the inward eye alone (*Orator*, II, 8), and Quinctilian said the image served to strengthen religion. Lucian refers to the beauty and grandeur of the statue, and Livy (XLV, 28) tells of the effect it had upon the mind of Paulus Æmilius. Arrian (I, VI, Diss.). Epictetus bears witness to the opinion that it was considered a calamity (ἀτύχημα) to die without having seen it.

"The influence of this work of art on Dio Chrysostom may be seen in his twelfth oration (§ 26); it was not the artistic perfection therein seen, but the moral effect on the spectator, the wildest natures were calmed by the air of majestic peace and kindness which were apparent in the gold and ivory masterpiece. In § 51 he says

" whosoever among mortal men is most utterly toilworn in spirit having drunk the cup of many sorrows and calamities when he stands before this image, methinks must utterly forget all the terrors and woes of this mortal life". The whole oration is a most beautiful treatise on the faith of Dio in a god of mercy and peace. (p. 380, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, Sam. Dill. 1904).

Pliny said it was a work " quem nemo æmulatur " (*H. N.* XXXIV, 8). In the Greek Anthology there is a famous epigram by Philip of Thessalonica (LXII of the Westminster Col. and CCCXXXIX of Edward's Col.) which impresses the idea that either a god came down to earth from heaven to show his likeness, or that Pheidias must have ascended to heaven to see the god.

The fact that the statue of Pheidias bore on the god's right hand a small figure of Victory, and that on the tetradrachms we see an eagle, is thought by some enough to show that the work of Pheidias was not the design copied by the designer of the coin-die. But on the other hand it seems most probable that as the work of Pheidias was made for Olympia, where the great games where held, the Victory was placed on the hand of the presiding victory-giving deity, but on the coin-types no local and no agonistic idea was appropriate, and the eagle, the national, natural and more ancient emblem of the god, was therefore substituted.

On the top of the sceptre of the Zeus by Pheidias was an eagle, a design often seen on very early work.

Before the feet of the god by Pheidias were two figures of Victory, and Müller gives an instance of such a figure holding palm and wreath before the figure on a coin of Laodicea of the IV Period (No 1347). He also notes a figure of a flying Victory to r. before the figure, on a coin of Therma of Macedon of the III Period (No 198) and another flying Victory to l. with a wreath, on another Thessalian coin with the letter **M** (No 686). It can hardly be considered however that these are evidences of the great statue having been in the mind of the die-designer.

Pausanias describes the throne as having a high back on the ends of which were figures of the three Graces and the three Horæ, but these are not found on any of the tetradrachms. The footstool of Pausanias was decorated with golden lions, but on the coins the footstools are very plain and low.

The only well authenticated copies of Pheidias's statue on coins are found on some Imperial bronze of Elis issued in Hadrian's reign.

On a coin now at Florence the whole statue is represented. The left leg is stretched forward and the right drawn back as on the later tetradrachms. The left arm of the god is however in a different

position ; it is in front of the figure and holds a long sceptre. The body is draped with a mantle. The throne has a high back to the seat and the arm of the chair is seen across the figure, the throne being seen from the side. The feet of the god rest on a footstool. The bronze coin at Florence showing the whole figure is of carefully executed design. On another bronze coin at Berlin the body of the Zeus is seen nude and the legs appear as on the earlier tetradrachms of Alexander.

There are two bronze coins also bearing the head of Zeus copied from the statue; one is at Paris.

The work of Pheidias is imitated on the tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes, bearing a head of Zeus, with the features of Antiochus on the Obverse, and the god seated holding a figure of Victory instead of the eagle in his right hand, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ on the Reverse.

A beautiful representation of Zeus holding the Victory appears on coins of Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII. Gryus, 125 B.C. Confer a coin from the Bunbury Collection, illustrated in Egger's Catalogue of the Theodor Prowe collection, Moskow Tafel X, n° 1556). Another very fine representation of the same is found on coins of Alexander I. Bala, 150-145 B.C., an illustration of which is on the same page.

An illustration of the coin is given on p. 191 of Dr Driver's work on " The Book of Daniel ".

The figure of Baaltars on the coins of Tarsus, issued in 362 B.C. by Mazaeus, is very like the figure of Zeus on the Tetradrachms of Alexander, and it is noteworthy that on some staters of Soli, issued by the satrap Tiribazus, 386-380 B.C., we see on the Obverse a bearded head of Herakles, and on the Reverse of others a similar figure of Zeus; these last bear Pallas on the Obverse.

There is no connection between these coins and Alexander, although they were earlier in date than his.

The Greek design is merely the result of Greek influence in Cilicia at that time.

THE TITLE OF KING.

The title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, which Alexander inherited from his father, is never found on the coins of Philip, and only on a comparatively small number of those of Alexander.

Cousinéry considered that the presence of the title on a coin was a sign that all such coins were issued after the death of Alexander, because it is usually found on the coins of his successors. But many of the coins bearing the title belong to the earliest period,

judging by the fabric and style, and all those struck in Asia Minor at a late date are without the title. Cavedoni thought the title was a sign that the coins which bear it were issued in Europe, and we do find the title on coins of Therma, Odessa, Mesembria and Calastia ; those bearing the initials of towns in Asia Minor or bearing Phoenician characters are without the title. But on the other hand the title is wanting on many coins of Europe, as on those of Amphipolis, Perinth and Sicyon, and it is found on coins of Aradus and Sidon.

It has been suggested that the title may have been added on the coins issued by Royal authority and omitted on those issued by the governors of cities.

This opinion is supported by the fact that the title is not found on the bronze coinage which was issued by the city governors, but our ignorance of the whole question of the royal authority in regard to the coinage prevents our determining the value of this suggestion. The right to bear the title was not contested ; Alexander had the power to enforce it if it had been, and it may be possible that the presence or absence of the title was owing to the wish of the magistrates or moneyers who issued the coins. The title is rarely found on the drachms, but was placed on the smaller obols and triobols.

It is probable that the presence or absence of the title was due to the die-designer, who if he found room inserted it, and if not, omitted it.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE TETRADRACHMS.

The attempt to classify a specimen of these coins, according to Müller's well-known sevenfold classification, is generally found to be very difficult, and some more simple arrangement is desired by many who have not access to Müller's work. Even a cursory examination of a good collection of Alexander's tetradrachms will show that they may be divided readily into three groups easily distinguished by differences in fabric, type, and size.

FIRST GROUP.

Fabric. The coins of this group exhibit a fabric of rough execution and the design in bold relief with greater thickness than the others.

Type. These coins show, on the Reverse type, the right leg of the figure of Zeus stretched in front of the left.

Size. The coins measure about $\frac{1}{24}^{\text{th}}$ of-an-inch less than an inch in diameter (or 24 millimeters).

These will be found to consist of Müller's classes I, II, III. They are the earliest of the series, and their general design is that copied during the whole period.

Most of them were probably issued during the life-time of Alexander, between 334 and 323 B.C.

The coins of this first group may be subdivided according to the places from which they were issued, and this subdivision will be in harmony with Müller's first three classes : (a) Coins issued from Macedonia only ; (b) coins issued from Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia only; (c) coins issued from these last-named places, and also from Macedonia, and which may perhaps have been coined from Persian silver.

SECOND GROUP.

Fabric. The fabric of these coins is finer and flatter, and the execution more careful than that of the previous class.

Type. The design of the Reverse type differs in regard to the position of the right leg of the figure of Zeus, which is drawn back behind the left leg.

Size. The size is slightly larger ; the coins measure a full inch in diameter. These coins belong to Classes IV and V of Müller's classification.

They comprise the coins of Philip III., Cassander, Antigonus, Seleucus I., Antiochus I., Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus of Macedon, and were issued from Western Asia Minor and Phoenicia.

THIRD GROUP.

Fabric. The fabric of these coins is very flat, the workmanship negligent, and the style mannered.

Type. The design is the same as that of Group II.

Size. The size is larger, the diameter being as large as $1\frac{2^{ths}}{8}$ of-an-inch (32 millimeters).

They were issued from Western Asia Minor, Thrace, and are the latest in date of all this series. They were issued after 200 B.C. during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and for some time afterwards. These coins comprise Classes VI and VII of Müller's classification. They are not associated with the names of any kings or prominent rulers, but were issued by the governors of cities ; some bear the name of a city, as Odessa.

THE SEVENFOLD CLASSIFICATION OF THESE COINS, BY L. MÜLLER.

GROUP I.

MÜLLER'S CLASS I., CIRC. 334 B.C.

Fabric and style. The tetradrachms of the first period are the heaviest, though the smallest in diameter. The execution is rough, the design standing out in bold relief, but treated in a less spirited style than the succeeding classes. Müller attributes coins to the following cities: in Macedonia, Terone, Aphytis, Scione, Mende; in Thessalia, Pelagonia, Lamia, Pharsalus; in Thrace, Maronea, Sestus, Coela; in Euboea, Chalcis and Histiaea. The symbols on these coins are thought by Dr B. V. Head to represent rather those of the magistrates than of the cities.

Obverse. The head of Heracles resembles that on the coins of the preceding reigns. The short and pointed locks of hair on the lion's skin are arranged in two regular lines. In the British Museum two specimens show three lines of locks.

Reverse. The figure of Zeus is stiff in pose, and the right leg is visible in front of the left. The extended right hand of the god shows the whole palm. The torso of the god is heavy and clumsy. On some coins the throne is a seat without a back, and no footstool is shown.

Symbols and Letters. Only one symbol is generally seen in the field in front of the figure; on some rare specimens the symbol is wanting (confer the chapter on Symbols above).

The name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ is generally arranged in a curved line and the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is very rarely added.

We should note the form of the letters; Ξ rarely Ⱶ; generally Σ instead of ϟ (as on coins of Philip II.), and always Ο ins tead of ο.

CLASS II.

Fabric and Style. The fabric of the coins of this class is that of the coinage of the South East of Asia Minor, and the neighbouring eastern territories.

The weight is similar to that of Class I; the style is still severe but rather finer, and the execution more careful.

Obverse. There are four little rolls of hair on the nose of the lion's skin on the top of the head, more pronounced than on the coins of Class I. The features are more carefully modelled.

Reverse. The figure of Zeus is very like that of the Baaltars of Tarsus issued just before the overthrow of the Persian army. The pose of the legs is the same as in the first class but the pose of the body is more easy. The legs of the throne are ornamented

with two mouldings, and have at the feet an ornament much outspread resembling the reversed calix of a flower. There is no back to the throne, but on many coins a footstool is represented under the feet of the god.

Symbols and Letters. The symbols given by Müller are only three in number ; in the field, before the figure, a head in a Phrygian cap or helmet ; a bow ; and a figure hard to understand. On the coin with the helmet symbol there is also a triskelis under the throne. A monogram ΤΑΡ for Tarsus is given as in the field of one coin ; Τ< ΗΡ ΜΜ on others, while the following letters occur under the throne Γ, Θ, Β, Α, and Α surmounted by a dot, and Α surmounted by four dots. Behind the throne is a club on one coin, and before the figure a club in a wreath on another. The legend is similarly placed to that on the first class, but we see Ξ and Ο, instead of Ξ and ο

CLASS III.

Fabric and Style. This class forms a transitional stage between the earlier and later classes ; the style is freer and more beautiful in workmanship. To this class belong several coins bearing the same town-symbols which are found on the coins of Philip II., also on some of those of Philip III., and of Seleucus (with the normal types of Alexander). Some coins are of Aradus, and Acca, but none were issued from Western Asia Minor. These coins may then be assigned to the lands in Europe, and also in the South East of Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia.

The coins issued from Acca bear the years after the death of Alexander, but not after 306.

Obverse. The features of Heracles differ in this class from those in the preceding classes. The skin of the lion is treated sometimes severely, at others more freely ; on some, the locks of hair are in two rows but are continued above the ear; on others the locks are in four rows and with the points hanging down, not as on the preceding classes pointing to the left. The hair of Heracles is in more shapely locks, less straight and formal than in the preceding classes.

Reverse. The figure of Jupiter is similar in regard to the pose of the legs, but sometimes the feet are on a footstool. The right hand holding the eagle has not the palm exposed as on those of Class I.

The throne is furnished with a back, and on some coins the figure is seated as if sitting with the right side against the back and the legs over the side, not the front, of the throne.

The ornaments at the feet of the legs of the throne are less in size than in Class II.

Symbols and Letters. The symbol of Amphipolis is the race-lamp with the letter Ε under the throne. The name ΝΙΚΟΔ occurs under the throne. The symbol, a bull's head, occurs under the throne; a trident before the figure. A flower attributed by Müller to Traelium occurs before the figure. Various monograms under the throne. On coins attributed to Therma in Macedon occurs a flying Victory before the figure ; some bearing the letter Μ before the figure are attributed by Müller to Mallus in Cilicia; others with ΝΑ or Ν before the figure are attributed to Nagidus.

Those bearing a scorpion and ΜΕ are attributed to Commagene, those with Η under the seat to Aradus, as also those Σ with $\frac{\text{Α}}{\text{Ρ}}$ before the figure and Σ behind the throne.

The coins attributed to Sidon bear ΣΙ before the figure.

Those with the sign ΗΟ to Tyre.

Those with a helmet and ΑΣ to Ascalon.

Those with ΦΙ to Philadelphia.

SECOND GROUP.

The coins of the second group may be distinguished by the right leg of the figure of Zeus being drawn back behind the left, and associated with the following rulers :

1. Philip III. Aridaeus. (383-316 B.C.) They bear the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ and were issued both in Macedonia, and in Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt.

2. The silver coins issued by Cassander from 316 to 297 B.C.

bear the name of Alexander, but on his brass coins his name appears: ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

The brass coins of his general Eupolemus, issued between 314 and 313, bear the legend ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ. No coins can be confidently assigned to the sons of Cassander, Philip IV. (297-296 B.C.) and Alexander V. (295 B.C.).

3. Antigonus, the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was acknowledged King of Asia in 311 B.C., and assumed the title βασιλευς in 306 B.C. He, like Cassander, issued the old type of Alexander's tetradrachms with that king's name.

4. Seleucus I., called Nicator, who reigned 312-250 B.C., made use of tetradrachms bearing Alexander's name, and normal types, until 312 B.C., but with the addition of his own signet, the anchor, as an adjunct symbol in the field. Justin (XV, 4) explains the origin of this family badge. In 306 B.C. he adopted the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ and gradually introduced new types.

5. Antiochus I., called Soter, reigned jointly with his father Seleucus (293-281 B.C.) and issued tetradrachms with the types of Alexander. From 281 to 261 B.C. he placed his name on the coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, with the types of Alexander.

6. If Pyrrhus, who was king of Macedon from 287-284 B.C., and again 274-272 B.C., struck tetradrachms, they were most probably like those of Cassander, exactly like those of Alexander in type and legend.

7. Lysimachus, king of Thrace (323-306 B.C.)

On some coins of the period 311-306 the letters ΑΥ appear in addition to the name of the deceased Alexander.

MÜLLER'S CLASS IV. B.C. 323-280.

Fabric and Style. The style of this fourth class is more free, and generally the execution is careful and more refined; nevertheless some coins of this period are found of a coarser style of work.

Some of these coins bear the same symbols of cities as those found on the didrachms of Philip II. and these by their fabric and from the

fact of their being found in hoards in Macedonia show that they belong to that province; they belong to the reign of Alexander. Others of a superior style and fabric may be connected with the Peloponnesus from the hoard discovered at Sicyon. Others have been found with Punic legends at Acca; others in Egypt bearing a different obverse, the head of Alexander with the horns of Ammon and with an elephant's head as headdress: these were all issued after Alexander's death. This fourth class includes coins from Greece, South East Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt.

Obverse. The head of Heracles varies greatly. The locks of hair on the lion's skin fall freely, i. e. more naturally, and they are very seldom found in the old regular rows, but these are all coins of Macedonia, from Pella, or Amphipolis.

Reverse. The pose of the figure of Zeus is more easy and the position of the legs distinguishes them from all the earlier classes; the right foot is drawn back with the heel raised and the left leg is stretched forward in an easy attitude, the foot flat on the ground.

The footstool is added on some coins, but not on all. The throne has a back which is decorated on some specimens with a small Victory on the posts at the corners. One specimen of a throne is given by Müller without a back.

Symbols and Letters. In the legends O and Σ are the forms most frequently found. The name is always placed in a straight line behind the figure.

The letters ΔΙ are found on coins of Pella Η, ΜΕ, Η̄, Κ, Δ, ΔΙ, Ρ, ΗΡ, ΘΕ, Μ̄, ΝΓ, Ε.

The race-torch on coins of Amphipolis.

Under the throne, on coins of Macedonia, a tripod, a vase, a caduceus, a star, a dolphin, half a Pegasus, a bee. Before the figure, a club on coins of Heraclea.

A tripod on coins of Philippi; a wheel on coins of Acanthus.

A flying Victory and Θ on coins of Therma in Macedonia.

A helmet before the figure on coins of Macedonia.

A griffin on coins of Abdera in Thracia.

A cornucopiæ on coins of Coela.

A galley's prow on coins of Magnesia.

A bee on coins of Melitæa.

A serpent on an altar on coins of Tricca with ΓΥ under the seat.

Many monograms both before the figure and under the throne on coins of uncertain cities.

CLASS V. 250-200 B.C.

Phoenician cities 254-153 B.C.

Fabric and Style. This fifth class is transitional between the finer, bolder styles and the more flat and larger modules of the succeeding classes. The style of art is free, but generally superficial or shallow. On some specimens a barbarous influence is visible and on these the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is most often found and hardly ever on any other coins of this period.

The coins of Class V bear none of the symbols found on coins of Philip II.; they are therefore most probably not issued from Macedonia, but many probably were struck in other parts of Greece; many were issued from Western Asia Minor and Phoenicia.

Some coins of Aradus and Marathus bear dates later than 306 B.C. and the style of this period is that of the tetradrachms of Lysimachus and the early Seleucidæ.

The module of these coins averages $1\frac{4}{8}$ of an inch (29 mill.).

Obverse. The features of Heracles are very varied. The locks of hair on the lion's skin are always freely pendant, never in rows as in the earlier classes.

Reverse. The pose of the figure of Zeus is the same as on the fourth class, i. e. the right foot is drawn back with the heel raised.

The only two illustrations of this period in Müller show the throne without a back, one shows a footstool, the other is without. In the British Museum is an example with a back to the throne.

Symbols and Letters. The legend as in Class IV, in a straight line behind the figure, Ξ and ο. The letters on a specimen in the British Museum are formed with dots or bosses like the Roman Republican letters.

On the coins of Odessus the symbol of an equilateral triangle in a circle. Ω and Λ, an object like a club and the letters ΚΟΙ, all these before the figure; on some, a triangle containing a circle under the throne, and a star before the figure with same symbol.

On coins of Mesembria of this period, a helmet to left under the seat. Six monograms and **EP**.

On coins of Callatia of this period, seven monograms and the letters **K**, **Θ**, **A**.

On coins of Proconnesus of this period, a stag to right and on others a stag's head antlered and the letter **M** with the title **BAΣI-ΛEΩΣ**.

On coins of Magnesia (Thessalia), a prow and **A**, **Θ**.

On coins of Sicyon, nude figure holding rope above head and monogram of **MT**.

On coins of Aegina of this period, a dolphin before, and a tortoise behind, the figure of Zeus.

On coins of Cyzicus of this period, a long torch alight and two monograms.

On coins of Sigeum of this period, a crescent moon and **ΣI** in monogram and various monograms with the letter **M** as main letter.

Coins of this period are attributed also by Müller to Myrina, Phocæa, Clazomene, Ephesus, Chios, Sillyum, Aradus, Marathus, Tyre and Sidon.

THIRD GROUP.

CLASS VI. AFTER 200 B.C.

Fabric and Style. This class contains the large flat late tetradrachms of a size considerably larger than that of the preceding classes. The art workmanship is generally negligent and the style mannered or affected. The cities which issued these coins are those of Western Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands, and it is from those parts that these coins have been brought; none were issued in Europe or Cilicia or Phoenicia. The module is 1 $\frac{2}{8}$ths of an inch (30 mill.).

Obverse. The head of Heracles is less varied than on the earlier coins, on some the locks of hair on the lion's skin are sparse and

placed on the edge of the skin. The head occupies as much space as possible.

Reverse. The pose of Zeus is the same as on the last two classes, the right leg drawn back and the heel raised, but the attitude is constrained. The figure is sometimes too large and heavy, and at others too thin and small. A side view of the throne is on some coins represented, and the legs of the throne are sometimes ornamented with griffins or a sphinx. The footstool in hardly ever found on coins of this class.

The Symbols and Letters. The royal title is never found on coins of this class. Names of magistrates are written in full and the numbers of the years given. The symbols are very often found placed in the exergue, a position very rarely found on coins of the preceding classes. The letters Ξ and Ο are the usual forms.

Coins of Lampsacus bear half the figure of Pegasus and ΛΑ under the seat or Ꝑ, ⅄, Κ.

Coins of Alexandria Troas bear a horse in the exergue and various monograms.

Coins of Colonæ bear a star or a wreath and Ⲛ ⅄.

Coins of Assus bear a seated winged griffin to left with various monograms, on one a leaf under the seat, on others a fulmen or a wing in the exergue.

Coins of Itanus bear a figure of Neptune.

Atarnea; symbol, forepart of a horse.

Myrina; a two-handled vase and ΜΥΡΙ, and under the throne a cap or coin-die, on some a branch in the exergue.

Cyme; a cup with one handle and monograms before the figure of Zeus. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ. ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ.

Temnos; a long vase with one handle, on some specimens the vase is under a branch of grape-vine, with various double monograms. ΕΧΕΝΙΧΟΣ ΓΕΙΤΑΣ.

Mytilene; a lyre as symbol before the figure of Zeus and a monogram, sometimes two.

Methymna; symbol, man with lyre on dolphin or a prow.

Phocæa, symbol, a seal, or half a griffin, or a griffin's head.

Smyrna; a turreted female head as symbol and monograms.

Clazomene; a winged boar or a ram's head; ΕΥΘΥΔΑΜΑΣ in exergue.

Erythræ; a bow in bow-case and club; ΕΡΥ. In exergue ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟS Μ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΣ.

Teos; a two-handled vase or a griffin to right, ΤΗΙ.

CLASS VII.

Fabric and Style. The tetradrachms of this class are the largest and flattest of all, some measure an inch and three-eighths in

diameter, but an inch and two-eighths is their usual size (30–31 mill.).

They may be distinguished not only by their size, but also by

the rudeness of the workmanship. Their weight also is less than that of the earlier series. The style is that of Thracia, and the period the time after Lysimachus.

Obverse. The most striking peculiarity appears to be the minute markings looking like small fish-scales on the smooth parts of the lion's skin. The features of the Heracles vary very much, some are heavy, and others more nearly approximate to the portraits of Alexander.

Reverse. The figures of Zeus vary very much in size or proportion to the space available. On some specimens the throne is without a back and on others it is present. The legs of the throne are slighter, and differ much from those on the earlier coins. The position of the legs of Zeus is the normal one for the last four classes.

Symbols and Letters. The legend is always arranged in two lines; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ in front and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ behind. This title is only found on coins of Thrace during this period, never on those of Asia Minor. Müller gives only one exception to this rule in which the title is in front of the figure. The monograms and initials are often the same as those found on coins of Lysimachus struck at Byzantium. The name of the city Odessa appears ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ on some.

Coins attributed to Mesembria bear the symbol of a helmet. Thirty-one different monograms are given to these Mesembrian coins, and other letters are ΕΥ, ΒΑΚ, ΠΡΟ, ΔΑ, Δ, ..ΛΑ, ΚΑΛ, ΔΙ, before the figure, and ΘΕΣ, ΚΟ, ΗΡΑ, ΗΡ, ΟΙΝΙΑ, ΜΑ, Κ^{Ο}, ΒΥ, under the seat.

The monogram ℞ is on one coin attributed to Apollonia, with a monogram under the seat.

DATED TETRADRACHMS.

On some of the later tetradrachms are letters which are regarded as figures giving the year on which the coin was issued. The

year from which the dates were computed is thought to be the year when the city from which the coins were issued received its freedom to coin its own money, and therefore there is no one date from which all the years may be computed. Rouvier in the "Journal International", 1900, p. 143, considers the era of Aradus commenced in 259 B.C.; the dates on these coins are in Phoenician characters. Pellerin and Cousinéry thought the years on some coins of Asia Minor are dated from the year when the Persian yoke was thrown off, i. e. 334 B.C.

Pindar thought the date of the first year noted was that of the accession of Philip Aridaeus. Judging from the fabric of these dated coins the era must have commenced about the middle of the third century B.C. The era ceased in 189 B.C. after the battle of Magnesia, when Asia Minor was ceded to the Romans.

WEIGHTS OF THE TETRADRACHMS.

The normal weight of the Attic Tetradrachm was 269.138 grs. or 17.44 grammes. The Greek weight-standards showed a tendency to fall, hence the lighter coins will generally be found to be the later, but we should look to fabric and style rather than to weight for an indication of date. The mention on a coin of the name of an official is equivalent to giving a date to a coin, and it is only our ignorance of the date when these men lived that prevents us making use of the information.

The weights of some tetradrachms in the British Museum are here given.

A Cilician coin and another of Aradus issued during the life-time of Alexander weigh 265 grains.

Three European tetradrachms issued during his life, one with the symbol, bucranium, weigh 265 grs.

Another, with a prow for symbol, weighs 266.4 grs.

A third, with Θ under the throne, weighs 266 grs.

A coin of Damascus, with the ram symbol and ΔA, weighs 263.7 grs.; another of Acre [ACE] dated year 27 of the era beginning 332, that is, of the year 306, weighs 258 grs.

A coin of Ecbatana, near which city were the Nisaean Plains on which Strabo says 50.000 mares were pastured, bears a feeding horse as symbol, and weighs 264.4 grs.

A tetradrachm of Seleucus I., issued before he adopted the title of king in 306 B.C., bears the symbol of his family, the anchor, and weighs 259 grs.

A coin of Seleucus issued after 306 B.C. weighs 263.5 grs.

Most of the coins of Philip Aridæus (323-317 B. C.) were issued in

Europe; one struck at Amphipolis weighs 258.5 grs. and one of Asiatic fabric weighs 263.5 grs.

A coin of Cassander (316–297 B. C.) weighs 265 grs. and another specimen 264 grs.

A coin of Antigonus (306-301 B. C.) issued in the Peloponnesus weighs 263 grs.

A coin probably struck by Polysperchon at Sicyon for Alexander IV. (316–311 B. C.) weighs 263 grs., but another coin of the same period, issued in Egypt, with an elephant's scalp headdress, weighs 265.1 grs.

After the defeat of Antiochus III. at Magnesia, 190 B.C., many cities of Asia, when they were declared free by the Romans, struck tetradrachms with the old types of Alexander. A coin of Temnos weighs 257 grs., one of Smyrna weighs 260 grs., one of Rhodes weighs 260 grs., another of Aspendus weighs 253. 7 grs.

The cities on the European shores of the Euxine and the Propontis continued to issue their municipal money with the old types of Alexander, probably because the barbarians of the interior preferred that currency. A coin with the monogram of Odessus with ΚΥΡΣΑ, a Thracian name, weighs 245 grs. A coin of Mesembria with a helmet as symbol weighs 262.5 grs. A coin of Byzantium weighs 259 grs.

It will be seen that the weights of all these coins vary considerably, not only on account of their worn condition, but even the well preserved specimens vary.

THE BRONZE COINAGE AFTER 334 B.C.

The most common bronze coins of Alexander are :

(1). Those bearing on the Obverse a head of the young Herakles in the lion's skin, and on Reverse ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and a club and bow in case. These coins are found in various sizes.

(2). Obverse. A young male head wearing a taenia. Reverse : A free horse. Weight about 6 grains.

These coins are valued at 2 shillings.

The following bronze coins are found less frequently than the above, and for the most part were issued after the death of Alexander.

(3.) Obv. Head of Herakles. Rℒ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Biga. Weight: 8 grs. This type is not of unfrequent occurrence.

(4). Obv. Head of Pallas. Rℒ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Nike. Weight : 7 grs. This is not very common.

(5). Obv. Young head wearing taenia. Rℒ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Horseman. Weight : 7-.6 grs. This is comparatively common.

(6). Obv. Head of Heracles. Rℒ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Horseman. Weight : 7 grs. Not a common coin.

(7). Obv. Head of Apollo. Rℒ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Horseman. Weight : 7 grs : Not a common coin.

The following five coins are distinguished by the letters ΒΑ on the Rℒ. and are later in date.

(8). Obv. Head of Heracles. Rℒ. Β·Α. Bow, club and quiver. Weight : 7 grs.

(9). Obv. Head of Heracles. Rℒ. ΒΑ. Horseman. Weight 7 grs.

(10). Obv. Head of Pallas. Rℒ. ΒΑ. Prow. Weight : 7-5 grs.

(11). Obv. Head of Poseidon. Rℒ. ΒΑ. Prow. Weight : 6 grs.

(12). Obv. Macedonian shield. Rℒ. ΒΑ. Helmet. Weight : 6 grs. This last is the most common, the others being rather scarce.

On page 23-24 Müller says these letters are an abbreviation of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and that they were issued in Greece or Macedonia. On coins of Seleucus Nicator the letters are ΒΑΣΕ. Some of these coins are of Cassander and Ptolemy, son of Lagos.

They form a transition between the coins of Alexander and those which followed.

The above list is taken from Dr Head's *Hist. Num.*, but other types are described in Müller's work.

The Coinage of the years 336-334 B. C.

The coinage of Alexander's predecessors had been issued according to the Phoenician standard, and Alexander's first coins, his tetradrachms, were issued in the same standard, according to the fourth form of the table given on p. 223 of Mr. G. F. Hill's " Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins ". The normal weight was 230.25 grains, or 14.92 to 14.96 grammes, but the specimens which have been preserved to our day weigh about 227 grains.

(a) The type of Obverse is a head of Zeus similar to that on Philip's coinage, on the Reverse is an eagle on a fulmen with his head turned back, and the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

The smaller silver coinage was issued according to the Euboic Attic standard of weight.

The Obverse of all these smaller silver coins was the same, a head of the beardless Heracles wearing the lion-skin head-dress.

(b) The drachms bore on the Reverse the same type as that on the tetradrachms. They weighed about 67.28 grains or 4.36 grammes. These coins are valued at 2 or 3 shillings each.

(c) The half drachms bear the same types as the drachms; they are rare coins.

(d) The diobols bear on the Reverse two eagles face to face on a

fulmen, and the same legend. They weighed about 22.38 grains or 1.45 grammes. These coins are valued at £. 2 to £. 3.

(e) The Obols bear on the Reverse a fulmen and the same legend. They weighed about 11.11 grains or 0.73 grammes. These coins are rare.

Even on these early coins the two deities honoured by the types are the same as those chosen for the world-famous tetradrachms first issued in 334 B.C.

BRONZE COINAGE OF THIS PERIOD.

(a) Bronze coins weighing 65 grains or about 4.25 grammes.

Obverse. A head of Heracles wearing the lion's skin.

Reverse. An eagle on fulmen with the head turned back. These coins are valued at 20/. to 30/.

(b) Bronze coins weighing about. 55 grains or 3.57 grammes.

Obverse. A head of Apollo with long hair.

Reverse. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. A Fulmen.

These coins are valued at 10/. to 20/.

These bronze coins vary in regard to weight and size and cannot be readily distinguished with certainty. Müller says they should be regarded as representative pieces rather than real money; that there is something arbitrary and some negligence in their coinage which renders it impossible to discover any fixed system.

The relative value between gold and silver was not the same in different places and times, and there is much uncertainty as to the names by which they were known.

The influence of the earlier types is seen in the choice of the head of Zeus for the tetradrachms, and that of the young Herakles with the lion's skin for the smaller coins. This last type had been used in Macedonia by Amyntas III. in 389-383, and by Perdiccas III., 365-359.

The coins of Philip are interesting as having given the types copied by the Gauls and the British tribes.

CONNECTION OF THE COINAGE WITH THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

Many of those interested in the tetradrachms of Alexander will be familiar with the chief events of his life and yet will still desire a sketch of his wonderful career from a numismatist's point of view. The data for such a sketch would be gathered with difficulty, and this article aims only at guiding the imaginations of collectors, so that the chief questions which arise from a study of the coins and the history may be placed before them. The coins used by Alexan-

der in his boyhood would be those of his father Philip, on which were the heads of Heracles and Zeus, the deities afterwards chosen by him to be honoured on his own coinage. Great wisdom and tact were displayed in that choice and it seems improbable that the selection of types for the coinage should be left to mint officials at such a critical period when all the Greeks were being persuaded to join in alliance against their ancient foes. As a youth he would have been familiar with the head of Heracles on the coins of Perdiccas III. and that type seems to have been copied by him as the obverse type for his silver coins.

Alexander's devotion to these two deities is shown by the story of the year 334 B.C. when he started on his famous campaign. At Abydos he sacrificed to them and in Lydia he erected a temple to Zeus of Olympus.

That first year was spent in Asia Minor and the first series of coins was used to pay his troops in that land. By September of the next year 333 B.C. all Asia Minor was subdued by him. The first spoil or treasure taken from the Persians was that won by the victory at Issus in October. The latter part of the year was spent in the siege of Tyre. Though he was personally most abstemious his hospitality was generous, for Plutarch says a feast sometimes cost 10.000 drachmæ or 2.500 tetradrachms.

He sent some of his army on to Damascus, where he seized great treasure from the Persians.

We do not know when the mint was established there, but coins of Class II of Müller bear ΔΑ and the symbol of the city, a ram. Probably even from this early period the Persian gold Darics and silver Sigloi were used by the army.

A gold Daric was worth 50 Attic Drachmæ.

Xenophon (Anab. 1, 5, 6) gives the current value of the Siglos at $7\frac{1}{2}$ obols. As we read often of the sums spent estimated in talents, we may note that the Talent was composed of 300 Darics or 6.000 Sigloi. Dr Head (Hist. Num., p. 699) says a Daric was worth 1729 grains of silver; this would be equal to about $6\frac{1}{2}$ tetradrachms. The Siglos, 86.45 grs, was rather more than an attic drachm 67.5 grs.

The year 332 B. C. was spent in subduing Palestine, entering Egypt, and founding Alexandria; a mint was founded at Aradus. Alexander's reverence for Heracles and Zeus is seen in his sacrifices at Tyre, and in his visit to the Ammonian Oasis, whence he returned to Memphis, and from there to Tyre. In July of 331 B.C., he proceeded to the Euphrates. At Gaugamela he defeated Darius. At Babylon he again bore witness to his devotion to Zeus. From that city he marched to Susa, where he obtained, according to Q. Curtius, 50.000 talents of silver, according to Plutarch, 40.000.

Of this sum 3.000 talents were sent to Antipater for use in the war against the Lacedæmonians.

We do not know whether this treasure was in bullion or in coinage, but as no hoards of Persian money have been discovered in Greece or Macedon, it was probably in bullion.

Among the treasures found at Susa were those carried off from Greece by Xerxes, especially the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which Alexander sent back to Athens.

From Susa he advanced to Persepolis and won great treasure there, and again at Pasargada more treasure was taken.

In 330 B. C. he went on to Ecbatana and distributed 2.000 talents to the Thessalian soldiers about to return to Greece. The treasures won at Persepolis and Pasargada were entrusted to Harpalus and deposited in the citadel.

This Harpalus was a nephew of Philip, and as he was unfitted by weak health for the army, he was used in positions of high trust, which, however, he betrayed. Before the battle of Issus he had betrayed his trust and fled to Greece, but was forgiven, and recalled to join Alexander at Tyre. From Ecbatana, Harpalus went to Babylon. When Alexander passed on to India, Harpalus believed he would never return and proceeded to waste the money on all kinds of riotous living, and on Alexander's return he fled to Athens with 5.000 talents, where he bribed many public men, Demosthenes among them, From Athens, Harpalus fled to Crete, where he was murdered.

During the year 330 B. C. Alexander advanced through Parthia, and crossed the mountains of Kandahar. In the spring of 329 B. C. he passed into Bactria, from whence many Thessalian and Macedonian soldiers were sent home with much money. Near Samarkand Alexander founded the city Alexandria Eschata. It was during this year he adopted the Persian dress and regal customs which gave such offence to his army. That silver by weight was sometimes used we gather from the story of the rewards given to the soldiers who climbed the rocks above the fortress in Sogdiana, twelve talents to the first, and so on, to one talent to the twelfth man who succeeded. This year he was married to Roxana who was in the fortress thus assailed and taken. In midsummer of this year he advanced upon India.

During the next year 326 B. C. the precious metals seem to have been plentiful, for he was able to give to king Taxiles, who became friendly, 1000 talents. During this year he conquered Porus, and lost his war-horse, Bucephalus, after whose name he called one of the cities he founded. The end of the year was spent in building ships, and preparing his return.

In 325 B. C. he sent on his fleet to the mouth of the Euphrates,

and returned to Pattala. In September he began his homeward march, and in the winter gathered his army at Kirman.

In 324 he advanced to Persepolis, Susiana and Susa. At this time Harpalus fled to Athens. This year enormous sums were spent in the marriages of the higher officers with Persian princesses, 20.000 talents being distributed among the soldiers to pay their debts. Plutarch says it was 9.870 talents. After the mutiny of his Greek troops, so courageously quelled, he was still able to give 10.000 Macedonians full pay and a talent in excess to each man.

Craterus led them home, with all their wealth to enrich Macedonia. This money was probably not the Persian currency but Alexander's own coinage issued from his mints in Babylon, Ecbatana, and Susa, where his officers had ruled for about six years. The funeral of his friend Hephaestion, who died about this time of a fever, was another cause of large expenditure, no less than 10.000 talents being spent thereon.

Deputies from many lands came this year to seek audience of the great conqueror, and their influence may have helped to make known his coinage, and the trade between the East and the West would have been facilitated by the adoption of Alexander's currency. The quantities of his coins issued were enormous. He is estimated to have died worth 800.000 talents, and very large numbers of his coins have been preserved to this day. Alexander died of fever in the summer of 323 B. C. after a brief but wonderful reign of twelve years and eight months.

No hoards of Persian money have been discovered in Greece or Macedon and therefore we may infer that whatever treasure was taken home by the returning troops was either in the form of Alexander's own coinage or else it was melted down and reissued. No doubt mints were established in the East by Alexander's officers, for we have coins struck at Damascus and Ecbatana, and there is little doubt but that a mint was established at Babylon and others of the great cities which were centres for his government.

Many of the cities founded by him must have been very small and far too unimportant to be made mint-cities.

Müller attributes to the cities of Asia many coins of Classes III and IV bearing only the initials of officers and without symbols or letters indicating cities; these coins may be looked upon as having been struck for the army. Their fabric should be carefully noted.

The motive which caused so many lands to use the types of Alexander for so long a time after his death was probably entirely commercial, and this choice of a well-known type is a repetition of what we have noted in the history of the coinage of Corinth and Athens.

Many cities issued coins like the "Colts" of Corinth and the

"owls" of Athens, which were not in political alliance with those cities, just as cities of Thracia which were never subdued by Alexander chose his types long after his death because they were commercially popular.

SYMBOLS OF CITIES.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third series, Vol. II, p. 296, is a notice by Dr Head of a paper by Dr Von Sallet in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band IX, Heft II. In this paper Dr Müller's arrangement of coins under certain cities is described as "an edifice resting on a foundation of sand" and Dr Head says "the symbols, however much they resemble municipal devices or coin-types, are as Dr von Sallet clearly shows merely the signets of the monetary magistrates, and only very exceptionally to be accepted as mint-marks" (p. 297).

This view is questioned by Mr. E. H. Bunbury in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third series, vol. III, pp. 15-17. He comes to the conclusion that "Dr Müller's system of explaining the mint-marks as the symbols of cities, cannot be regarded as established on sufficient grounds, but that many such attributions rest upon reasonable inferences". Dr Barclay V. Head's answer to Mr. Bunbury is to be seen on pp. 18-19 of the same volume III.

Dr Head answers that his remarks on Dr von Sallet's words refer to the symbols on the coins of the first four classes of Müller, and the symbols on the coins of classes V, VI, VII, refer to the currency of free cities chiefly of Western Asia Minor, Phoenicia and Thrace—cities which for commercial reasons adopted the types of the coins of Alexander at least a hundred years (roughly speaking) after his death. These coins bear symbols and letters which may reasonably be considered as town symbols. But in regard to the symbols on the coins issued during the lifetime of Alexander, Dr Head thinks they are the official signets of monetary magistrates.

LIST OF SOME SYMBOLS ON COINS OF CLASS I.

Dr B. V. Head's opinion that the symbols on the coins of the first class are those of families rather than cities is fully supported by an examination of the character of the symbols on coins attributed by Müller to that period.

The following are mentioned by Müller : Aplaustrum, bee, bow, buckler, bull's head, branch, caduceus, cock, cornucopiæ, crescent, club, dolphin, ear of corn, flower, fulmen, horse's head, helmet, ivy-leaf, lion's head, pedum, prow, simpulum,

bivalve shell, spearhead, star, star in a circle, snake, quiver, tripod, thyrsus, trident, vase, vine-leaf, &c.

Some few of these are certainly well-known as city symbols, such as the bee of Ephesus, and the flower of Rhodes, but when they occur with magistrates, names, and on coins, evidently, from the date and fabric, not issued from those cities, we naturally regard them as symbols of the moneyers.

THE CITIES FOUNDED BY ALEXANDER.

From a numismatic point of view very few, if any, of the cities founded in the East by Alexander are of importance.

Before his reign cities had been often named after deities, but none after men, except perhaps Philippi, after Alexander's father. The cities named after Alexander may have been so named on account of his being considered a divine person. The number of these cities is said by Plutarch to have been seventy, but no list of such a number can be made. Those who wish for details of this subject should consult the work of Droysen. The best known are Dium and Pella in Palestine, Alexandria in Egypt, Alexandria Antiocheia, now Merw, and Alexandria Eschate, probably Khojend. Confer the article by Pauly-Wissowa on the cities which bear the name Alexandria.

Alexander did not prevent the use of the old coinage of these eastern cities. Where he left a civil officer in charge it is probable that in the more important cities mints were established, but from symbols or fabric we have no certain information concerning them.

LIST OF SYMBOLS WITH CITY NAMES.

City	Country	Class	Symbol	Letters
Acroathon	Macedonia	I IV	a Sun	A
Aegina	Greece		Tortoise	
Alabanda	Caria	VI	Pegasus	A
Amphipolis	Macedonia	I-IV	Race-torch	A
Antioch	Caria	VI	Bull	AN
Aradus	Phoenicia	II.III.IV	a Palm	AP
Ascalon	Phoenicia	III IV	a Helmet	AΣ
Chios	Agean sea	V. VI	a Sphinx	K
Clazomene	Asia Minor	VI	winged wild Boar	Monogram
Colophon	Asia Minor	VI	a Lyre	ΚΟΛΟ
Cos	one of the Sporades	VI	a Crab	Uncertain
Cyme	Asia Minor	VI	one-handled Vase	Monogram
Damascus	Syria	II	a Ram	ΔA
Ephesus	Asia Minor	V	a Bee	ΕΦΕ

Erythræ	Asia Minor	VI	Quiver & bow of Artemis	EPY
Heracleia	Asia Minor	VI	Club of Herakles	HPA in mon.
Lampsacus	Asia Minor	VI	forepart of Pegasus	ΛA in mon.
Magnesia	Asia Minor	VI	Horse or horse's head	MA
Marathus	Phoenicia	V	a Palm	MAP
Miletus	Asia Minor	VI	Lion and star	MI
Mylasa	Asia Minor	VI	a Trident	M & MY
Myrina	Asia Minor	V VI	an Amphora	MYPI
Mytilene	Lesbos	VI	a Lyre	MYTI
Phalasarna	Crete	VI	a Trident	ΦA
Phocaea	Asia Minor	V. VI	a Seal	ΦΩ
Priene	Asia Minor	VI	a Trident	ΠPI
Rhodes	The island	VI	a Rose	PO
Sigeum	Asia Minor	V	a Crescent	ΣI
Temnos	Asia Minor	VI	a one-handled Vase	Monogram
Teos	Asia Minor	VI	a Griffin or Kantharos	THI

Of these thirty cities no less than twenty-four issued the coins bearing their symbols in the V or VI periods, and seventeen of the cities were in Asia Minor. Probably those placed in the Vth Class should be all classed in the VIth.

LIST OF LETTERS WITHOUT SYMBOLS ATTRIBUTED BY MÜLLER TO CITIES

AΣ	Aspendus	Asia Minor	VI
AΣ AΣK	Ascalon	Phoenicia	VI
ΔI	Dium	Macedonia	III
ΔI	Dionysopolis	Thracia	IV
Θ	Therma	Thessalonica	I. III. IV
IOΠ	Ioppa	Phoenicia	IV
KA.KAΛ	Callatis	Moesia	V
KO, KOI	Coela	Thracia	VI
ΛI	Limyra	Lycia	IV
ΛY	Lycia	Asia Minor	IV
MA, MAΛ	Mallus	Cilicia	II. III. IV
ME. MEΣAM	Mesembria	Thracia	V-VII
N. NA	Nagidus	Cilicia	II. III
NIK	Nicomedia	Thracia	VI
ΘΔHΣITΩN	Odessus	Thracia	V. VII.
Γ or ΓAP	Parium	Macedonia	VI. VII.
Γ or ΓE	Pelagonia	Thracia	I. IV.
Σ	Soli	Thracia	II
ΣI	Sidon	Phoenicia	III
ΣIΛ	Sillyum	Asia Minor	V. VI
ΣY	Sycaminum	Phoenicia	IV
ΣK	Scythopolis	Phoenicia	IV

ΣΩ	Sozusa	Phoenicia	IV
ΣΤ	Stratonos Pyrgos	Phoenicia	IV
ΤΥ	Tyre	Phoenicia	V
ΦΑ	Phaselis	Lycia	IV
Φ	Philomelium	Pamphilia	VI

SYMBOLS WITHOUT LETTERS.

Some well-known city symbols are found on coins without corresponding legends; the assignment of such coins to the cities usually indicated by those symbols is reasonable when the fabric is in agreement.

The Bee of Melitæa.
The Chimæra of Sicyon.
The Shield of Boeotia.
The two Horses united of Perinthus.
Arion on a dolphin of Methymnus.
The Tortoise of Aegina.
The Vase with one handle of Cyme.
The winged Boar of Clazomene.
The Sphinx and Amphora of Chios.
The Horse feeding of Alexandria Troas.

Some of these city symbols are seen on the coins of Alexander's predecessors and successors with various letters or names of magistrates, they can hardly therefore be considered family symbols, or they would not be found with various names attached; there was no poverty of invention in those days.

Some symbols represented provinces rather than cities, as the Helmet or Buckler of Macedonia, the double Axe of Caria, the Palm of Phoenicia. Other symbols represented badges, not of the moneyers but of the rulers, as the Anchor of Seleucus, and the Lion of Lysimachus. These symbols are generally found in front of the figure of Zeus, but sometimes in other positions. There is probably no significance in the position in which they are found, for we find the same symbol with the same letters on some coins in one, on others in another place. There are cases in which the symbols of two cities are found on one coin, and this may mean that the cities struck money in alliance. For instance there is a coin with the symbol of Abdera, a Griffin, on the Obv., and on the Rv. the symbol of Amphipolis, also many coins of the Chalcidians with their symbol the Cithara, and on the Obv. the name Olynthus, and its symbol, the head of Apollo. In Thessaly Pheres struck money conjointly with Atrax.

The Race-torch and the Tripod are thus found together, and the

symbols of Ephesus and Laodicea are also found on one coin. The expense of minting was thus shared by the two cities.

Sometimes around a letter or monogram a wreath is found, and the letters mean sometimes a city, and at other times a magistrate's name. The wreath round the name of a city may refer to the deity worshipped there, or the sacred games, or it may refer to the crowns of gold which autonomous cities decreed to other cities or to magistrates. When the crown is round the name of a magistrate it refers to an honour granted to him.

Sometimes around a sign or letter or monogram we find a circle, probably a merely ornamental frame, but on some coins we have to determine whether the circle may not be the letter O of the monogram.

Sometimes little globules or dots are found either in the field or near the symbol or initials of a city, which must be moneyers' mint-marks, for they evidently have nothing to do with the value of the coins.

NAMES OF MAGISTRATES.

When the money was specially issued for the payment of the troops, the name on the coins may be that of the φρουράρχης, a title corresponding with the Roman Quæstor.

Money issued by a Civil officer of a province would be issued by him as head of the ταμιας corresponding to the Roman Ædile.

Some names may be those of the ἀρκοντης Στρατηγοι, or Πρυτανης, but probably on the coins of the cities of Class VI the names are those of the head officer of the mint.

Probably the names of those officers which are found written in full are those of magistrates of importance. Sometimes the initials of other officers are found on the same coins bearing the name in full of a magistrate.

Sometimes it is the name written in full which is changed while the initials remain the same; at other times it is the initials which vary. When the initials of one man occur on the coins of several cities we may presume he was an officer of high rank and wide jurisdiction.

Apparently we cannot draw any inference from the position of a name on the coins, for the same name is found in different positions on coins of the same mint, whether the name is written in full or in initials only.

It is thought by Müller that when we see initials on a helmet of Minerva as E, or on the lion's skin of Heracles, as MY on number 1389 of his list, that the letters may be the initials of the engraver.

Müller gives eight names written in full on coins of Rhodes, thirteen on coins of Magnesia, two on coins of Colophon, two on coins of Erythræ, two on coins of Cyme, and one on a coin of Mytilene.

These names in full are all on coins of the third group, class VI, of Müller.

THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

The coins of the cities comprised in the Achaean League are generally considered less interesting than those of the earlier federations both in regard to type and fabric. These poorly wrought half-drachms however are not without historical interest for they were minted in the distressed war-worn cities of Achaia during the days when Aratus, Philopoemen, and Polybius were working for that liberty and unity to which the Greeks never attained.

These coins were constantly in the hands of others also, whose names bring to our minds the final struggle between Greece and Rome, Pyrrhus, Philip of Macedon, Cleomenes of Sparta, and Antigonus Doson.

The study of this series will lead us to read the life of Aratus by Plutarch, and the story of the struggle with Rome, as told by Polybius, himself a citizen of a League city.

The following are the principal works on the subject of the Achaean coinage :

"*Catalogue of the Coins of the Achæan League*", illustrated by thirteen plates, containing 311 coins, compiled by Major General M. G. Clerk; London, Quaritch, 1895. The letterpress contains 35 pages, chiefly lists admirably arranged with references to the plates. No attempt is made to refer to the history of the League, but for collectors the work is indispensable.

"*An Essay on Greek Federal Coinage*", by the Hon. J. Leicester Warren, M. A.; Macmillan and Co, 1863, 62 pages, 8vo. Most helpful in reference to the historical interest of the coinage.

On pp. xxiii to xxxiii of the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, 1887, "Peloponnesus", some useful information will be found.

In the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Neunter Band, Berlin, 1882, pp. 199-272 is an article by D^{r} R. Weil, *Das Münzwesen des Achaischen Bundes*; Tafel VII and VIII give lists of the monograms, not very well done.

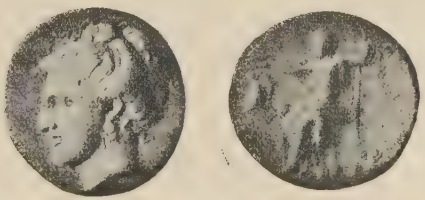
THE STORY OF THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

Alexander's aim to unite all the Greeks had always been opposed by the Peloponnesians, and from their determination to be free from Macedonia arose the famous Achaean League.

Polybius gives a list of the original twelve cities, viz. Patra,

Dymæ, Pharæ, Tritaea, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Cerauneia, Olenus, and Helica. As these last two cities were destroyed by an earthquake before 370 B.C., the League was formed before that date. When the Peace of the Persian king was made in 386 B.C. many cities became confederate.

We have seen in how many cases the Boeotian type of Heracles strangling the snakes was adopted by these Leagues. Among these federations of small states united to resist either Persia, Sparta, Syracuse, or Boeotia, we may reckon the Achaean League. Instead of the Heracles type however, which was too much associated with Boeotia, the Achaeans chose as their coin-type the figure of Zeus Homagyrios (Pausanias VII, 24, 3) that is, Zeus the Assembler or Congregator. His temple at the Achaean city of Aegium is said to have been the place where Agamemnon gathered his forces for the Trojan war. The same Deity was chosen by Alexander for his Protector in his Persian war. Polybius informs us that the Achaeans had been ruled by kings of the line of Tiresmenus up to the time of Gyges, when a league was formed and the kings deposed. It is most probable that we have some numismatic evidence of this earliest period of the League. In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. II, 1902, p. 324, is an article by Mr. W. Wroth on an Æginetic Didrachm related to a series of drachms, known for many years through Mr. Gardner's article in the *Num. Chron.*, 1873, p. 182, and the B. Mus. Catalogue " Thessaly " (p. 48, p. xxix). All these coins bear on the Obverse the same female head and on the Reverse the legend ΑΧΑΙΩΝ with the type of Athena charging. In 1873



Mr. Gardner thought these drachms were issued before 340 B.C., but later he has considered them to have been issued in 302-286 B.C.

The discovery of the didrachm however has given rise to further discussion, and Dr Head considers that " this beautiful coin belongs to the earliest Achaean Federation of which the League formed in 280 B.C. was a revival. "

The didrachm bears on the Obverse a female head to left and on the Reverse Zeus seated with the eagle on his right hand, and with the left resting on a long sceptre. It is illustrated on Plate xvi, fig. 4 of the *Num. Chron.*, vol. II, 1902.

This Zeus may be the same deity whose head alone afterwards appeared on the coinage of the League.

This didrachm has distinct affinities with the fine Peloponnesian staters issued circ. 570 B. C. and therefore apparently belongs to the very earliest period of the League of the twelve cities mentioned by Polybius.

THE SECOND NUMISMATIC PERIOD. 338-331 B. C.

The victories of Alexander troubled the Greek cities by enabling the Macedonians to weaken and gradually destroy the Achaean League. In all the cities discord was sown, in some, tyrants arose, and in others, Macedonian troops were quartered. There is a series of half-drachms of which three varieties are known belonging to the period from circ. 338 to 330 B. C. They are the earliest of the well-known series of the Achaean League bearing on the Obverse the head of Zeus Homagyrios, and on the Reverse a wreath around the Achaean monogram.

The period before 338 B. C. was so full of trouble that it seems difficult to find a year in which the coins could have been issued. In 366 the Theban general Epaminondas entered Achaia, and gained the adhesion of the Achaean cities. The Thebans banished the oligarchal leaders, and these banding themselves together recovered their cities, and joined the Spartan armies. The men of Achaia were among those who fled before Epaminondas at Mantineia in 362 B. C.

Ten years later we still find the Achaeans on the Spartan side, with Elis, Phlius, and Mantineia regaining Messenia. In 344 B. C., Demosthenes invain visited the Achaean cities endeavouring to gain them to oppose Philip. The year 338 brought a certain amount of peace, Philips met the great assembly of Greeks at Corinth, and proposed to unite them in the enterprise of the Persian war. From that time it was possible for the League to be reformed.

In 331 B. C. the year in which Alexander defeated Darius at Arbela, Agis III., king of Sparta, appears as one of the leaders of the League with Aratus. He induced the Arcadians, except the men of Megalopolis, Pellene and Elis, and the Achaeans, to join him in the endeavour to free the Peloponnesus from the Macedonians. Antipater was engaged in Thrace when Agis began to besiege Megalopolis, but before he could take it, Antipater arrived, and in the battle, near the city, Agis was slain and his defeated army obliged

to send hostages to Alexander. During the next fifty years, *i. e.* from 331 to 280 B. C. the League was broken up.

The three varieties of silver coins of the Achaean League above mentioned are the following.

1. *Obverse.* Head of Zeus to right.

Reverse. The monogram ⅄ (AX) in a wreath tied above without letters or symbols. Specimens may be seen in the Royal Museum at Athens, the Imperial Museum, Vienna, the Imperial Museum, Berlin and in the collection of Major-General M. G. Clerk.

2. *Obverse.* Head of Zeus to right.

Reverse. The monogram ⅄ in a wreath tied above. Symbols, a dove flying to right below the monogram, on the right of the monogram a hanging garland.

3. *Obverse.* Head of Zeus to right.

Reverse. The monogram ⅄ in a wreath tied above; above the monogram, Δ; no other letters or symbols. A specimen was formerly in the collection of Dr Imhof-Blumer, Winterthur, Switzerland, and is now in the Berlin Museum.

THIRD NUMISMATIC PERIOD

About the year 280 B. C. the Macedonian yoke was again thrown off and the League renewed by the four cities, Patræ, Dyme, Tritaea, and Pharæ. The year 280 B. C. is memorable as that in which Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who for a few months was called king of Macedon, ending his life of violence in battle with the Gauls. In that same year Pyrrhus crossed over to Italy. There were several claimants to the throne of Macedon, and it was not until 277 B. C. that Antigonus Gonatas obtained the throne, only to retain it until 273 B. C., when Pyrrhus returned from Italy. The difficulties of the Macedonians gave the opportunity to the Achaeans to assert their liberty and renew their old League. Pyrrhus, on his return, conquered the army of Antigonus in Macedonia, and, being called to aid Cleonymus in taking Sparta, advanced against that city. On his failure to take it he went to Argos, invited by a party within the city, but was slain by a tile thrown by a woman while fighting the party which favoured Antigonus.

On the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonatas regained his power,

and spent his life in opposing the gradual growth of the Achaean League. He died in 239 B. C.

In 276 Aegium joined the League, two years later Pellene and Aegira joined, and in 273 Ceryneia. Aratus was born at Sicyon in 271 B. C. and was brought up at Argos until at the age of twenty he returned to his native city in 251 B. C. and became its ruler. He at once joined the League, and then sailed to Egypt to obtain help from Ptolemy.

We do not know who was the leader of the League between 280 and 250 B. C.

In the years 245 and 243 B. C. Aratus was at the head of the League; in this latter year he took Corinth, induced the citizens to join the League, and soon afterwards, through his influence, Megara, Troezen, Epidaurus, Argos, Cleonæ, and Megalopolis were added to it. The Aetolians were defeated by him at Pellene, and the prospects of the League were bright, but this very prosperity excited increased opposition from the Aetolians and Cleomenes of Sparta.

In order to oppose these foes Aratus arranged with Antigonus Doson that Corinth should be ceded to him if he would assist the League.

Ptolemy joined the Spartan Cleomenes, and in a succession of battles the Achaeans were well nigh destroyed.

Through these defeats Aratus lost the leadership of the League and Sparta ruled the Peloponnesus.

While Cleomenes was besieging Sicyon, Antigonus Doson landed his troops near the isthmus.

Aratus laid siege to the Spartan troops in Argos in 228 leaving Antigonus in possession of Corinth, and drawing off Cleomenes from Antigonus. Cleomenes then retreated and Antigonus was made leader of the League. At length the Spartan power was crushed in the battle of Salasia 222 B. C. Cleomenes fled to Egypt and died there by his own hand.

During this war with Cleomenes Alea and Heraæa joined the League in 235, Caphyæ joined in 227 B. C.

In 222 Mantineia was called Antigoneia after Doson, and Tegea joined the league in that same year.

When Doson died in 220 B. C. the importance of the League diminished considerably, and the Achaeans were defeated by the Aetolians.

Aratus then applied to Philip V., the successor of Doson, for help, and paid him 50 talents down and promised 17 talents a month.

The next three years were occupied in what was called " the Social War ", in the first year of which Philip won brilliant victories in Elis and Cleomenes died.

During the second year, 218 B. C., Philip defeated the Aetolians, destroyed their principal city, and spent the winter in Argos.

During the third year, 217 B. C., Philip was called back to Macedonia, but the Achaeans were active and successful under Aratus, who was then general of the League for the seventeenth time.

When the news of Thrasymene arrived in Greece peace was made at Naupactus, and the attention of Philip was withdrawn from the League by the war in Italy and Sicily.

In 214 Aratus quarrelled with Philip because of the war in Messene, and in 213 B. C. Aratus died. Two years after, P. Sulpicius Galba took Ægina, and Philopoemen returned from Crete.

In 210 Polybius was born at Megalopolis.

In 209 B. C. Philip again helped the League and employed Philopoemen at the head of the cavalry, but at the end of the year he returned to Macedon. Next year, however, Philip was present at the general Assembly of the League at Aegium, and Philopoemen was appointed General or Strategus. Phigalia in Arcadia joined the League this year.

During the next two years the League was victorious, and Philopoemen won a victory at Mantineia. His successes made Philip jealous, and an attempt was made upon his life because Philip did not wish to see the League independent.

In 205 B. C. Philip made peace with the Romans, and after that date the Achaeans preserved their favour through the wisdom and tact of Philopoemen, who was again made Strategus in 201 B. C. In the next year Philip was present at the general assembly of the League at Corinth, when he appointed his friend Cycliades as Strategus.

Philopoemen retired to Crete where he remained until 194 B. C. On his return eight fresh cities joined the League, viz. Alipheira, Asea, Callista, Dipaea, Eliophasii, Gortys, Pallantium, and Theissa.

Again, in 191 B. C. Elis, Hypana and Messene were added to the League, and in 184 Corone in Messenia. Philopoemen was Strategus in 192 B. C. and induced Lacedemon to join the League.

In 189 B. C. he was again appointed Strategus, and in the next year he destroyed the power of Sparta. Five years afterwards he obtained the chief power for the eighth time and that same year was slain at Messene (183 B. C.). The historian Polybius was one of those who reverently carried his ashes to Megalopolis.

Philopoemen had made the innovation of assembling the general council in the various chief cities of the League in turn, instead of in Aegium, as before. Polybius praises the constitution of the League, but up to the end there were important constitutional controversies and the constitution was never committed to writing. The members were guided by custom rather than law, and therefore many disputes

arose which a written law might have prevented. It is sometimes inferred from Polybius that the Council consisted of a hundred and twenty members, but this is uncertain. Plutarch shows that Aratus was allowed to make war without the consent of the assembly if he could find the necessary funds, and Polybius shows that at any rate on one occasion the army was delegated to act for the general assembly.

When Perseus fell into the hands of the Romans in 168 B. C. the Achaeans were under the rule of the philo-Roman Callicrates. More than a thousand Greeks were sent to Rome, most of them Achaeans. The story is told in Pausanias VII, ch. x. and Livy XLV, 31.

After the death of Philopoemen, the Greeks constantly appealed to Rome to settle their disputes, and sent their leaders there to plead before the Senate.

Their involved disputes were not understood at Rome, and the Senate sent officers to arrange the troubles on the spot. In 150 B. C. the 300 survivors of the thousand Achaeans who were sent to Italy in 167 were allowed to return, with the result that many bitter enemies to Rome were thus set free to oppose the Roman plans.

In 168 B. C. C. Popillius Laenas, the Roman ambassador to Antiochus, ordered the release of a prisoner, one Menalcidas, a Lacedemonian adventurer. In B. C. 150 this Menalcidas became general of the Achaean League. He received a bribe of 10 talents to aid Oropus against Athens; failing to carry out his engagement, he retained the bribe. Callicrates accused him of trying to persuade the Romans to sever Sparta from the League, and he bribed Diaeus to assist him. In 147 he persuaded the Lacedemonians to break the truce made by Cæcil. Metellus, and when they turned to punish him for his rashness, poisoned himself.

The fall of the League was the result of the weakness and rashness of the above-mentioned leaders, Diaeus, 150 to 147 B. C. and Critolaus in 147 B. C. They were misled by the leniency of Cæcilius Metellus the Roman praetor in 148 B. C. and dared to defy the Roman armies. Q. C. Metellus, after many attempts to preserve peace, advanced against Critolaus and defeated him at Scarphea in Locris; Livy informs us that Critolaus took poison after his defeat; at any rate he was never heard of again, and it is probable that the destroyer of the last political power of Greece thus miserably committed suicide. Mummius appeared in 146 B. C. and destroyed Corinth. Polybius arrived at the head-quarters of the Roman army and materially assisted in restoring peace.

THE TYPES.

The Obverse type of all the silver coins of the Achaean League consists of a bearded head of Zeus Homagyrios or the Assembler.

The chief city of the League was Aegium, and there the great assemblies of the representatives or leaders of the federate cities met in the grove dedicated to Zeus Homagyrios. It was therefore very natural that the head of the deity worshipped there should have been chosen for the Obv. type, especially as the idea of federation was implied in the name or title of the god.

The laurel-wreath on the Reverse was probably the laurel-wreath which adorned the head of the statue of Zeus, but the general design of the monogram surrounded by a wreath suggests that mere decoration may have been as much the aim of the die-designer as any reference to the laureated god; however, it would be only natural for the artist to choose a decoration in harmony with the religious emblem on the Obverse.

THE STANDARD OF THE LEAGUE COINAGE.

The Standard was that of Ægina which had by this time become much degraded. All the silver coins were of one denomination, viz. hemidrachms.

The weights of the specimens in the British Museum show that they only occasionally rise to forty grains and very seldom exceed that weight. Some weigh as little as thirty-two grains and all weights up to 37 grs. are common. One coin of Dyme weighs 43.1.

The normal weight was forty grains, and that weight was chosen because such coins would pass as Æginetan Hemidrachms and also as Corinthian Drachms, the normal weight of which was 45 grs. but which was at this time lower. These half-drachms also would pass with the Attic tetroboli, which were of the same weight as the Corinthian drachms.

Mr Finlay has conjectured that as the daily pay of a mercenary soldier was at that time four Attic obols these League coins were made of that particular weight and value.

These small coins would only be used in the cities of the League as the common currency of daily life, but the larger coins used in commerce must have been those of Alexander's successors, and in the later period those of Athens, and in the last period the Roman denarii would appear as the rivals of the Greek coins.

THE INITIAL LETTERS AND MONOGRAMS.

The names of which we read only the initial letters on the silver coins are probably those of the magistrates of the towns, or possibly of the officers in charge of the mint. It is unlikely that the names of any of the strategoi, or presidents of the whole league, are ever

found on the coins, because the names of Aratus, Philopoemen, and Lydiades, who so frequently filled that office, have not been found on the ordinary coins of the League.

The League coinage however was not the only money current in the cities of the League, besides the tetradrachms of Alexander's successors; autonomous money was issued by several cities while belonging to the League, and on these coins we find the names of magistrates. On such coins of Argos we find the name of Lydiades, probably the name of the tyrant of Megalopolis and general of the League, or else of some one named after him. The name Lycortas occurs as ΛΥΚΟ; this is also that of a general of the League.

The name ΦΑΗΝΟΣ also occurs on coins of Argos. On these autonomous coins of Argos we have also the name Æschylus, probably that of the man who attempted to assassinate the tyrant Aristomachus, before Argos joined the League, and then fled.

After the union with the League he returned and was honoured by the citizens.

The names of Andronides and Sosicrates occur on coins of Sicyon; confer notes on that coinage.

At Dyme the same name appeared on both autonomous and federal silver coins (Weil, p. 233).

At Messene the name ΔΕΞΙΑΣ occurs on both autonomous and federal coins.

The names of magistrates are found on both silver and copper coins of the following cities: In Achaia, Patrae, Sicyon and Dyme; In Argolis, Argos, and perhaps Troezen; In Arcadia, Megalopolis, and perhaps Caphæ and Heraea.

ΑΡ *not necessarily* = *Aratus*

The letters ΑΡ occur on League silver of Patrae, where it occurs with and without ΠΑ. M. Cousinéry would read this ΑΡ as signifying Aroë.

The ΑΡ on a coin of Aegion attributed by Cousin'ery to Aratus stands more probably for ΑΡΙCΤΟΔΑΜΟC, a local magistrate.

As Aratus was at the head of the local government of Sicyon for five years, 251-245 B. C., we should have the best chance of finding his name on coins of that series.

If two initials can both stand for names of cities, and occur together, great difficulty arises in determining whether the letters refer to a city or a magistrate; thus ΓΑ, ΑΝ, where ΓΑ may mean ΓΑΛΕΙΩΝ (Eleians) and ΑΝ may signify Antigoneia. Where no city symbol is present we cannot decide the question raised, unless the fabric is sufficiently peculiar to one of the cities in question to decide the mint.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF AEGEIRA.

Of the Sixteen known varieties, only nine specimens are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus is always turned to the right on the obverse, and is sometimes well modelled, but some specimens are extraordinarily rough. The wreath around the monogram of the League is always tied below. The symbol, the forepart of a goat, is always placed above the monogram and occupies half the field; the symbol faces to right, except in one instance on a coin in the British Museum.

The following letters are found on either side of the monogram ΛΑ, ΑΡ ΑΛ ΚΙ, ΑΛ, ΚΙ, Κ ΑΛ, ΓΑ ΑΥ, Γ V, ΕΡ with Λ below, Ι Λ Λ Υ Γ ΝΩ, Λ, monogram ΗΡΑΚ, ΕΡΚΗ Υ, Ι Π, Ν Ι, Η Ι, Ξ Ε. ΠΟ Ν

The town of Aegeira was situated opposite mount Parnassus, seven stadia from the sea; its ancient name in Homeric days was Hyperesia.

In the first year of the Social war it was taken by the Aetolians but retaken by its citizens. The temple of Zeus was its most important building.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF AEGIUM.

There are seventeen varieties known, of which only five are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus on the Obverse is always turned to the right, and the style is not so good as that of the coins of Aegeira. On some specimens the work is very rough indeed, notice the large size of the curls in the hair of Zeus. On seven of the varieties there are letters on the obverse, both behind and before the head of Zeus, as for instance Ξ Ε behind with a monogram before, ΕΥΤΕΙ before on three varieties; on two the ΕΥ is before, and the ΤΕΙ behind; on one specimen ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ is behind the head.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below. Above the monogram the symbol, a fulmen, occurs twice; on twelve varieties the symbol is found below the Achaian monogram without any letters.

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On one specimen the symbol below the monogram is below the letters ΔΙ. On the two varieties on which the symbol is above the monogram the letters ⅂ΙΓ occur underneath the monogram. Above the monogram we find the following letters, ΑΙ, ΙL, ΙJ, ΙΓV, ΛΓ, ΓΑ, LΓ and ⅂ with fulmen. On the left of monogram Λ with E in right; O,with TEI on right; ΓΛ with ≷ on right; $\frac{\Lambda}{O}$ with ≷; A with KO; ΛΑ with Δ; ΑΙ with ΓΙ on right; ⋲ with ≺ on right ⋱ with ≷ on right; ≷ on either side; ≻ with ≺ on right ≻; — on right two varieties have the letters ΑΡΙ above monogram, MOC below monogram CTO on the left, and ΔΑ on right of monogram. These bear also ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ behind the head on the obv.

The city was mentioned in the Homeric catalogue. After the destruction of Helice in 373 B.C. by earthquake, Agium became the chief city of Achaia and was chosen as the place of meeting for the League until Philopoemen arranged otherwise. The meetings were held in a grove near the sea, called Homagyrium, sacred to Zeus. The story that Agamemnon assembled his army here may be an attempt to supply an ancient origin for the name really given on account of the League assemblies.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF ARGOS.

There are fifteen varieties, of which only four are found in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus on the obverse is turned to the right on ten of these, and to the left on five. All the heads are finely modelled; those turned to the right are of the usual type, but the heads to the left are different in feature, and evidently by another artist and from another statue. There are no letters or monograms on the obverse. The wreath on the Reverse is always tied above.

The Wolf's-head symbol is on seven varieties found below the League monogram. The Club symbol is found on one variety above the monogram and on four below the monogram. The Harpa, or sickle symbol, is found on two varieties below the monogram. Five specimens bear on the Reverse above the League monogram a small monogram ⋋.

The following letters are found in the same position above the monogram A on one and M on another variety.

There are five varieties bearing a letter on the left of the monogram Σ, K with the above monogram on the right; A with no letter on right side; I with Ω on right side; Π with I on right side. On p. 251 of *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, IX Band, is an illustration of two Reverses of Alexandrian tetradrachms, one bearing the

harpa and the other the wolf symbol; it is therefore probable that for large silver money the Achaeans depended on these tetradrachms.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF CAPHYA.

There are five varieties, of which the Brit. Museum possesses two specimens. The heads of Zeus are turned to right, and are well but roughly modelled, and encircled with a ring of dots. The wreaths on the Reverse are all tied below.

The symbol, a helmeted head of Pallas turned to right, is found on all five varieties below the League monogram. The League monogram on four varieties has the letter K on the left and A on the right.

Three varieties bear a small monogram above the League monogram; one variety bears the letters ΔΥ above it and E on the left and N on the right.

The city was said to have been an offshoot from Athens; it was situated in a small plain, N. W. of the lake Orchomenus, from which it was protected by a dyke. Cleomenes gained possession of it, and near the city was fought the great battle in which the Achaeans under Aratus were defeated by the Aetolians in 220 B. C. The plain once well drained is now frequently under water from the overflow of the lake.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF CERYNEIA.

There are six varieties, of which two only of rough workmanship are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus is of the usual type, fairly well modelled and filling the space well.

The wreath on the Reverse is tied below on three varieties and tied above on three. The symbol, a trident, is found below the League monogram on all the varieties.

No letters or monograms are found above the monogram. On three varieties a small monogram is found both on the right and left of the League monogram, on three varieties a small monogram is found only on the right of the League monogram. All these small monograms are different. We find KP united, KAE united, NE united, in three varied monograms YAT united, KT united, and AT.

In 255 B. C. one of the citizens of Ceryneia named Marcus was chosen to be the first sole general of the League. In the time of Strabo this city was dependent on Aegium. It was situated inland on a lofty height.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF CLEITOR.

Four varieties are known. The heads of Zeus are normal and well modelled.

1. Head of Zeus to right. Reverse. Wreath tied below.

Above the League monogram, the symbol, a head of Sol facing, below the monogram the letters ΠΤΕ in monogram.

On the left of League monogram, ΚΛ, on the right Η. In the collection of Major General Clerk.

2. Head of Zeus to left.

Reverse. Wreath tied below. Above the League monogram a small monogram of the letters ΑΠ; below the monogram the symbol as above. On the left of the League monogram the letter Δ, on the right the letter Ι.

In the collection of C. W. C. Oman Esq. F. S. A., Oxford.

3. Obverse, Head of Zeus to right.

Reverse. Wreath tied below. Nothing above League monogram, no symbol. On the left of monogram ΚΛ, on the right Η. In the Imperial Museum Berlin and in the Clerk collection.

4. Obverse. Head of Zeus to right.

Reverse. Wreath tied below. Above the League monogram Λ, no symbol. On the left of monogram Κ, and on right Η. In the Imperial Museum, Berlin.

The men of Cleitor were renowned for their love of liberty. In commemoration of their warlike deeds they erected a brazen statue of Zeus at Olympia, 18 feet high, which was seen by Pausanias (V, 23, § 7).

The citizens bravely resisted the Aetolians, and Cleitor was sometimes used as the meeting-place of the League (Polyb., XXIII, 5. Livy 395).

Cleitor continued to coin money as late as the reign of Septimius Severus.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF CORINTH.

Seven varieties are known, of which three specimens are in the Brit. Museum; one of these is very rough indeed.

1. Head of Zeus to left. Normal type; mediocre workmanship.

Reverse. Wreath tied in centre of left side, very unusual. The symbol Pegasus to right above the League monogram which is smaller than usual. Nothing below the monogram. On the left of monogram Α and on the right Σ (?), above Υ.

2. Head of Zeus to left. Reverse. Wreath tied above.

Above the League monogram, the symbol Pegasus to right, on the right of monogram Ϙ. ? ΤΑΠ in monogram above monogram.

3. Same as n° 2, with the exception that the letter K appears in place of the ϙ.

4. Same as n° 2, with the exception that no letter appears to the right of the monogram.

5. Head of Zeus to right. Reverse. Wreath tied below, nothing over the League monogram, below it AT ? in monogram to left ϙ, to right no letter.

6. Same as n° 5, except AT in monogram below League monogram and ϙ to right thereof.

7. Same as n^{os} 5 and 6, except ATP in monogram below League monogram and ϙ on left thereof.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF DYME.

Eleven varieties are known, of which six specimens are in the British Museum, on all of these the head of Zeus on the obverse is turned to the right, the modelling is rather coarse on some, and extremely so on others, and on many specimens struck out of the centre. On the Reverse the wreath is in all cases tied below. The symbol, a fish, is always placed below the League monogram and turned with its head to the right, except in one case, to the left.

1. The monogram of ΔY above the League monogram. To left monogram $\overset{?}{\Delta}$YV, to right the monogram AP.

2. The monogram of ΔY above the League monogram. To left monogram $\overset{?}{\text{APY}}$ or AYP, to right the letter Φ.

3. The monogram of ΔY above the League monogram. To left the letter T, to right the monogram AP.

4. The letters ΔY (not in monogram) above the League monogram. To left the monogram AVP, to right nothing.

5. The letters ΔY (not in monogram) above the League monogram. To left the letter Λ, to right the letter N.

6. The letters ΔY (not in monogram) above the League monogram. To left the monogram EY, to right the letters AΛ.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF ELIS.

No less than sixty-five varieties are known, of which fifty bear symbols. The head of Zeus faces to the right, in every instance except one, and is often beautifully modelled, though most are rough and some extremely so.

On forty-nine varieties the symbol is the fulmen, which in every case appears below the League monogram.

On one variety the symbol is an eagle to right, and this is

placed above the monogram. This specimen is in the collection of C. W. C. Oman Esqr. F. S. A. at Oxford.

Ten varieties bear the letters F to the left and A to the right of the monogram.

Thirty-one varieties bear the letters FA on the left of the League monogram and a small monogram on the right.

On three varieties we see FA to the left and ΛA to the right of the League monogram.

As a rule there is a small monogram above the League monogram but the following letters also occur in that position Γ, Ι, A, IA, X, ⅄, AH,O, MYP, Ξ, Φ.

7. The monogram TAMK above the League monogram. To left, nothing, to right, the monogram ΔY?

8. The monogram ΛA above the League monogram. To left, nothing, to right, in monogram ΔYA.

9. The monogram TAME above the League monogram. To left, nothing, to right, in monogram ΔYA.

10. The monogram ΔY above the League monogram. To left, AYP in monogram, to right, AP in monogram.

11. The letters YΔ above the League monogram. To left nothing, to right, AYP in monogram ?

On p. 245 of *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, IX Band, is an illustration of a silver drachm of Dyme with the normal reverse type of Alexander's tetradrachms with the fish symbol and ΔY or ΔYM in monogram.

At Argos, Megalopolis, and Pellene, tetradrachms were used at this period, but this is the only drachm known.

The name Dyme is said to refer to the city being the most westerly of all the Achaean cities, Her. 1.145. It was situated on the coast near the territory of Elis, and its lands were frequently laid waste by the Eleians. It was destroyed by the Romans because it alone among the Achaean cities had espoused the cause of the Macedonians.

ELIS.

There are 32 specimens of the coins of Elis in the Brit. Museum, divided into three classes: "Earlier" containing thirteen specimens, "Middle Class" containing eleven, and "Later Class" containing eight.

The characteristic marks or distinctive differences appear to be in the character of the letters in the Reverse.

The "Earlier" series have the letters squarely and simply cut

with the knob at the ends the letters, where it exists, not very pronounced.

mon.	no mon.							
F A	F A	FA	FA	FA	FA	ΛY	FA	AN
fulmen		CΩ	Γ	Ɛ	ΣΩ	FA		FA
A Φ								
F N X	FAΔΩ. The best Obv. heads of Zeus are in the earliest							

series.

The "Middle Class" has the letters larger, not so square and with more marked knobs.

E	mon.	
FA×ΛA	FA×monogr.	FA×N. The FA always to left.
fulmen	+	fulmen

One, head of Zeus to left. The worst and rudest heads are on the "Middle Class".

"Later Class". The letters in this class are finer, smaller, and not so well struck.

The heads are poor and thin, and one, head to left on Obv.

Fifteen varieties bear names behind the head of Zeus on the Obverse, as follows, NKIA, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟS &c., ΔΑΜΑΙΩΝ, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟS (4 times) ΘΑΛΙΑΡΧΟC, ΘΡΑΚΥΛΕΩΝ, ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟS (3 times), ΝΙΚΕΟΥ, ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΙΟS.

SILVER COINS OF ELIS WITHOUT THE SYMBOL.

Fifteen varieties are without the symbol. Ten of these bear F on the left of the League monogram and A on the right. One variety bears FA below the League monogram and Λ on the left and Y on the right thereof. The letters ΛY appear on two varieties above the monogram, one of these has also ΣΩ below the League monogram. The letters ΦI occur on one specimen below the monogram, four varieties bear CΩ below it.

The following letters also occur in the same position, CIΛC, CIΔI, CΩCI, and AN.

These symbol-lacking coins have the head of Zeus to the right and the wreath on the Obverse tied below.

Soon after the Persian wars the aristocratic government of Elis was replaced by a democracy, with the result that the city was much enlarged beyond the old walls of the acropolis. When Pausanias visited the city it was one of the most flourishing in Greece; it is now a heap of ruins.

The Eleians apparently stopped the issue of autonomous silver when they joined the League and in place thereof issued federal silver very freely, their silver being still common. But as the copper

Eleian League coins are rare, they may have issued autonomous copper at the same time.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF EPIDAURUS.

Twenty-one varieties are known, of which five specimens are in Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus on the Obverse is generally beautifully modelled and is always turned to the right. On the Reverse the wreath is always tied below. On fourteen varieties the symbol, a snake in attitude ready to strike, is found above the monogram of the League. On one of these the letter I is found to left of the symbol and A on the right.

The symbol, a cupping vase, is found on three varieties above the League monogram and on one variety below.

The letters on the coins bearing the snake symbol are as follows.

	Below the monogram.	To left.	To right.
1.	—	A	N
2.	—	N	A
3.	AK in monogram	EΓ monogram	IE
4.	KO	N	I
5.	EY	O	Λ
6.	OΛ	Σ	Ω
7.	—	CΩ	CI
8.	ΣI	Σ	Ω
9.	YΣ	Σ	Ω
10.	KΛ	ΣΩ	ΦA
11.	—	T	A
12.	IA	T	I
13.	⋈?	T	I
14.	AP	AE	TOC
15.	Snake symbol	Ξ	—

LETTERS ON COINS BEARING CUPPING VASE.

16.	ΔA	Σ	Ω
17.	IΔ	P	Ω
18.	ΘA	Σ	Ω
19.	Cupping vase	Y	A
20.	E	Λ	A
21.	E	A	Λ

These last three varieties also bear the following letters above the League monogram, Λ on n° 19, Y on n^{os} 20 and 21.

The city is famous for its temple of Æsculapius and was full of invalids. When L. Æmilius Paulus visited the city in 167 B.C. after

the conquest of Macedonia, the sanctuary was still rich in gifts. It suffered most from the depredations of Sulla.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF HERMIONE.

Only one type is known. The head of Zeus to right is rather coarsely executed. The wreath on the Reverse is tied below.

Above the monogram of the League are the two symbols, a tripod and head of trident. To left of the symbol, the small monogram of the letters ΕΓ, to right of the symbol, the small monogram of ΜΑ. To left of the League monogram, the letters ΙΣ. To right of the same, the small monogram ⅄?

Specimens may be seen in the British Museum, in the collection of Major General Clerk, and in the Royal Museum of Athens.

Hermione is a seaside town at the extreme southern end of Argolis; it is mentioned by Homer (*Il.*, II, 560). The Argives took possession of the city, but it subsequently became an independent ally of Sparta. After the capture of the Acro-corinthus by Aratus, the tyrant then ruling in Hermione voluntarily renounced his power, and the city joined the League.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF LACEDAEMON.

Fourteen specimens are in the British Museum.

Thirteen varieties are known. The head of Zeus on the Obverse is always turned to the right and is wrought in poor style, very varied in character of head.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below; the symbols, the caps of the Dioscuri, are placed on the left and right sides of the League monogram. These symbols are found on twelve of the thirteen varieties.

Above the League monogram, ten varieties bear the small monogram ⅄? ΑΙ or ΑϒΙ? The other two varieties bear in that place ΑΑ, and the last has nothing.

Below the monogram of the League the following letters and monograms are found ΠΥ, ΘΕ mon. ⅄⅄, ΑΝΔΡ mon. ⅄? ω, ΕΥ, $\frac{\dot{E}}{Y}$? ΧΥ mon., ΜΕ mon.

The most unusual variety bears ΣΩ below the League mono-

gram, Λ to left and A to right of same, instead of the symbols which occur on all other varieties. A specimen is in the British Museum and one at Athens.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF LUSI.

Only one type of the coinage of Lusi is known. The head of Zeus turned to the right is well modelled, the circlet of dots around the rim is nearly perfect.

The wreath on the Reverse is tied below and the only letters on the field are ΛΟΥ which appear below the League monogram. A specimen is in the collection of Major General Clerk weighing 35 grs.

This town of Northern Arcadia was originally independent but afterwards subject to Cleitor.

Its territory was ravaged by the Aetolians in the Social war (Polyb., IV, 18). In the time of Pausanias it scarcely existed even in ruin.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF MANTINEIA (BEFORE 222 B.C.)

Eight varieties are known of the coins before 222 B.C. in Mantineia. The head of Zeusturned to the right is well, but somewhat coarsely modelled, and there are two types of the head, one rather more heavy than usual.

The variety of features is unusual, the locks of the beard are generally roughly executed.

On the Reverse the wreath is always tied below, and the symbol, a trident, is with one exception always below the League monogram.

	Above Monogram.	To left of Mon.	To right of Mon.
1.	M		
2.	MA mon. ⋈	Δ	I
3.	M	Δ	I
4.	—	Δ	I
5.	—	Δ	
6.	—	ΔE	I
7.		⊦	Y
8.		E	Y

No 3 has ΙΔΡ behind the head on Obv.
No 6 has ΔΙ behind the head on Obv.
No 8 has the symbol above the League Monogram.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF MANTINEIA (AFTER 222 B.C. ANTIGONEIA).

Eight varieties are known, of which twelve specimens are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus is rather more carefully modelled than on the earlier series of this city, the features more normal. The head is always turned to right, and there are many varieties of features and style, some rather fair, and no letters appear on Obv.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below, and no symbol is found on any of this series.

The letters on the Reverse are as follows.

	Below Monogram.	To left of Mon.	To right of Mon.
1.	ΕΥ	Α	Ν
2.	ΑΝ	Ε	Υ
3.	ΑΥ	Α	Ν
4.	⛤? ΤΑΠ Mon.	Α	Ν
5.	ΤΑΠ Mon.	Ν	Α
6.	CΩ	Α	Ν
7.	CΩ	Ν	Α
8.	CΩ ΠΑ	Α	Ν

The letters ΑΝ represent the name of the city Antigoneia and the letters below the Monogram the names of the magistrates.

Mantineia, one of the most ancient and powerful cities of Arcadia, situated on the borders of Argolis, was mentioned by name in the Homeric catalogue.

The political constitution of Mantineia is mentioned by Polybius as one of the best in antiquity (Pol. VI, 43).

Before the Persian war, the citizens acknowledged the Spartan supremacy. Five hundred of the citizens fought at Thermopylae. Mantineia was governed by a democracy, hence her rivalry and constant warfare with Tegea, which was under an oligarchy. In 481 B.C. the Mantineians sided with Athens against Sparta. Five great battles were fought near its walls. In 418 the Spartans defeated and dispersed the citizens until 371 B.C. when after the Spartan defeat at Leuctra they rebuilt Mantineia. Epaminondas died in one of the battles before the new walls.

The Mantineians joined the League of the Achæans at first, but afterwards withdrew and joined the Aetolian League.

In 228 the citizens joined the Spartans, and thus caused the war with Cleomenes and the League.

In 226 Aratus surprised Mantineia and settled there an Achæan garrison which was afterwards expelled.

Again in 222 B.C. Antigonus Doson assisted the Achæans to retake the city, when it was abandoned to plunder, its citizens sold as slaves, and the very name of the city changed to Antigoneia in compliment to the conqueror Doson (Pol. II, 57; Plut. Arat. 45).

The fifth great battle was fought between the Achæans under Philopoemen against the Lacedemonians (Pol. XI, 11).

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF MEGALOPOLIS.

Thirteen varieties are known, of which eleven specimens are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus is turned to the right on ten varieties, and to the left on three.

The features of the head are heavy, the eyebrow unusually prominent, and the execution rough; nevertheless they are better than some of the series.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below.

The pedum, as symbol, is only found on two varieties, in each case above the League monogram. The syrinx, or pipes of Pan, is found on eight varieties below the League monogram, and on one variety above.

The following letters are found with the Monogram.

	Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left of Mon.	Right of Mon.
1.	(pedum)	M	K	Δ
2.	(pedum)	M	—	—
3.	B	M (syrinx)	E	Λ
4.	B	M (syrinx)	Λ	E
5.	(syrinx)	M	E	Λ
6.	MC MC Mon.	B (syrinx) M	E	Λ
7.	BI	B (syrinx)	Λ	E
8.	B	(syrinx)	Λ	E
9.	Ξ	(syrinx)	K	I
10.	Ξ	(syrinx)	K	I
11.	Ξ	—	I	K
12.	—	(MΓ) MΓ	N	⅄
13.	—	(MΓ) MΓ	N	Φ

The two last varieties are without a symbol.

On p. 263 of *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, IX Band, is an illustra-

tion of the Reverse of a tetradrachm of the normal Alexander type with the syrinx symbol and the letters ME.

Confer the coins of Argos and Pellene for a similar use in those cities of the old Tetradrachms.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF MEGARA.

Fifteen varieties are known, of which eight specimens are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus is always to the right, and the features are of the normal type.

The workmanship is very varied, some specimens showing rather poor work, but most of them are very rough indeed.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below, and the symbol, a large lyre, is always above the Monogram.

The following letters are found on the Reverse.

	Below Monogram.	Left of Mon.	Right of Mon.
1.	ΔO	Δ	I
2.	Φ	Δ	I
3.	—	ΔΩ	PO
4.	—	H	PO
5.	A	H	P
6.	NY	H	PO
7.	—	ΘO	KΛ
8.	—	ME	ΓΩ
9.	ΛA	Π	E
10.	T	M	A
11.	ΘO	Π	Y
12.	—	CΩ	KP
13.	(Ꝛ) PAK	Σ	Ω
14.	Ξ	ΦI	ΛO
15.	(E) EY Mon.	Σ	Ω

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF PAGE AND MEGARA (AFTER 280 B. C.).

Four varieties are known.

1. Head of Zeus turned to left; very rough style.
2. Head of Zeus, same style.
3. Head of Zeus turned to right; finer style.
4. Head of Zeus — an unusually fine head.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below.

The following letters occur on the Reverse.

	Above Mon.	Below Mon.	To left of Mon.	To right of Mon.
1.		ΠA	M	E
2.	ME in Mon.	—	Π	A
3.		M	Π	A
4.		M	A	Π

The letters in these instances evidently refer to the names of the cities Megara and Page.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF MESSENE.

Twenty varieties are known, of which only three specimens are in the British Museum. On eleven varieties the head of Zeus is turned to the right, and on the others to the left.

The workmanship and style are generally very good in comparison with that on some other coins of the League, but they are not among the finest.

The wreath on the Reverse is tied below.

The symbol, a fulmen, occurs on only two varieties; in each case below the League Monogram.

On seven varieties the initial letter of the name Messene occurs below the League Monogram and on four varieties the Monogram of ME occurs in that position.

On seven varieties the letters Ξ E occur, one on either side of the League Monogram. On two varieties, those bearing the symbol, the letters K A occur on the right and left of the League Monogram. The letters O P occur in that position on four varieties. The letters Π Δ occur on one, and M Σ on another and O.N. on another variety.

The letter A is found on one variety to the left, and on another, to the right of the League Monogram.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF PALLANTIUM.

Only four varieties of these coins are known, seven specimens of which are in the Brit. Mus., and the variations are confined to the position of the symbol, and the Monogram which is found on two of the varieties.

The head of Zeus is finely modelled, of the normal type, and is among the best of the Obverse types of the League coinage. The head is always turned to right. On the Reverse the wreath is tied below.

Above the monogram of the League the letter A appears on all the varieties, the letter Π to left, and the letter Λ to right of the Monogram.

The variations are as follows.

1. Below the monogram. The Trident vertical.
2. — The Trident to right.
3. — Monogram ΕΥ and trident vertical.
4. — Monogram Α/ and trident vertical.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF PATRÆ.

Twenty-four varieties are known, of which there are fifteen specimens in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus on the Obverse is always turned to the right. The locks of hair are very coarsely executed. The features are generally heavy, and the brow prominent, but they vary much in style of workmanship, a few specimens being rather superior in style to the rest.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below.

The initial letters of the city, ΠΑ, appear on sixteen varieties, on six above, and on ten to the right of the League Monogram, one of these latter varieties shows the letters upside down.

The symbol, a dolphin, is found below the League Monogram on all the varieties, except one on which it appears above. On twenty varieties the dolphin is turned to the right, and on four to the left.

We find above the monogram the following letters, probably signifying the names of magistrates, ΕΥ, ΑΧ, ΦΙ, ΙΦ, ΘΕ, ΣΩ, ΤΕΙ, and seven various small monograms.

To the left of the League Monogram, the following letters occur ΓΑ, Φ, ΑΡ, Α, ΞΕ, Ξ, and Κ.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF PELLENE.

Only four varieties are known. The head of Zeus on the Obverse is always turned to the right, and the style is good, decidedly superior to that of many other League coins.

The wreath on the Reverse is always tied below.

The symbol on three varieties is a small lyre, that on the fourth variety a small vase?

	Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left of Mon.	Right of Mon.
1.	ΠΕ in Mon.	Lyre	Α Φ	Θ Ι

2.	ΠΕ in Mon.	Lyre	Φ Α	Ι Θ
3.	Lyre		ΑΘ	ΦΙ
4.	ΠΕ in Mon.	Vase	ΑΘ	ΦΙ

The monogram above the League Monogram consists of the initial letters of the name of the city, the letters to left and right are those of the magistrates' names.

On p. 247 of *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, IX Band, is an illustration of a tetradrachm of Alexander's normal type with the symbol of a lyre and the letters ΠΕ in monogram. Confer the similar use of the tetradrachms in Argos and Megalopolis.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF PHENEUS.

Only two varieties of this coinage are known. The head of Zeus on both is turned to the right, and the modelling is good.

The wreath on the Reverse is tied below. Nothing is found above the League Monogram on either variety, but on each the letter Ε is found to the left and the letter Υ to the right of the Monogram.

The symbol, a caduceus, is only found on one variety where it appears below the Monogram.

The presence or absence of the symbol is the only difference between the two varieties.

Specimens of the coin bearing the symbol may be seen at Athens, Berlin, and in the collection of C. W. C. Oman, at Oxford.

Specimens of that without the symbol may be seen at Athens and at Vienna.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF SICYON.

Twenty varieties are known, of which only three specimens are in the Brit. Museum. The head of Zeus is always turned to the right. The modelling is better than usual. On the Reverse the noticeable distinction of these coins consists in the fact that the wreath is always tied above and never below as usual.

On sixteen varieties, the symbol, a dove flying to right, appears below the League Monogram; on one variety the dove is flying to left, and on the remaining three varieties the space below the Monogram is filled with the letters ΣΙ, ΕΥ, and ΣΙ.

The space above the Monogram is on twelve varieties occupied by a small monogram, on two others by the letters ΑΙ, on one by Μ, on another by Σ, and on another by ΕΥ, and on three the space is bare.

The following letters are found, one on the left, the other on the right of the Monogram AT, AΓ, AP, PA, ΔE, EI to left, nothing on right, N and a monogram ⊙II?, 3 times NI, ΛY, Y on right, nothing on left, ΣI, EY ΣI and the EY below Monogram.

One variety has only the letter Σ above the Monogram and no letters on either side.

The names of two citizens of Sicyon known to history, Andronides and Sosicrates, who flourished about 150 B.C. have been found on the coins of the League (Polyb, XXIX, 10; XXX, 20). They are mentionod as prominent citizens shortly before 146. B C., for Sosicrates was slain just before that date.

LYCOA or LYRCEIA.

There are two coins in the British Museum attributed to Lycoa or Lyrceia, bearing a fairly modelled head of Zeus to right and a dolphin as symbol under the League Monogram, ΛY above the same, and A to left and I to right. The wreaths are tied below.

TROEZEN ?

In the British Museum, four coins, bearing a special character or appearance of coming from one mint, are attributed to Troezen. The head of Zeus is turned to the right and is better modelled than usual on all four specimens.

N^{os} 1 & 2. Δ to left, I to right of League Monogram, underneath a trident.

N° 3. Same, but with the addition of M over League Monogram.

N° 4. E to left, Y to right of League Monogram, underneath a trident.

N^{os} 1, 2 & 3 are probably those under Mantineia.

N^{os} 188, 186 and 191, of Gen. Clerk's list of coins of Mantineia.

The character of the fabric is however so noticeable that they should be attributed to some other city.

SILVER LEAGUE COINS OF TEGEA.

Six varieties of coins of Tegea are known; six specimens are in the Brit. Museum. Although there is some variety in style of the heads of Zeus on the Obverse, as a rule they are among the finest in the whole series. The head is always turned to right. On the Reverse the wreath is tied below. No symbol is found on any of these coins.

	Above Monogram.	Below Mon.	to left Mon.	to right Mon.
1	—	—	T	E
2	T	—	—	E
3	T	—	—	E
4	ЄH ?	—	T	E
5	ʾH	—	T	E
6	EYA	PEI	T	E

The letters TE are no doubt the initial letters of the name of the city, the other letters the names of the magistrates.

GENERAL VIEW OF SILVER COINAGE.

CITY & PROVINCE	DATE B.C.	SYMBOL	VARIETIES TOTAL	VARIETIES WITHOUT SYMBOL	EARLIEST DATE OF SYMBOL ON COINS
Aegeira in Achaia	274	Half-goat	16 var.	0	From 480 B.C.
Aegium "	275	Fulmen	17 var.	4	" 275 B.C.
Argos in Argolis	228	Wolf's head, Club, or Harpa	15 var.	0	" 468 B.C.
Caphya in Arcadia	227	Head of Pallas	5 var.	0	" 227 B.C.
Ceryneia in Achaia	273	Trident	6 var.	0	" 273 B.C.
Cleitor in Arcadia		Head of Sol	4 var.	?2	" 400 B.C.
Corinth in Argolis	243	Q. Pegasus	7 var.	3	" 585 B.C.
Dyme in Achaia	280	Fish	11 var.	0	Æ. From circ. 350 B.C.
Elis in Elis	191	Eagle, Dove, Fulmen	65 var.	15	From 480 B.C.
Epidaurus in Argolis	243	Serpent-cupping vessel	21 var.	2	Æ. From 350 B.C.
Hermione in "	229	Tripod & Trid.	1 spec.	0	229 B.C.
Lacedemon in Laconia	192	Pilei of Dioscuri	13 var.	0	From circ. 350 B.C.
Lusi in Arcadia	bef.	ΛOY no symbol	1 spec.	1	None earlier.
Mantineia "	222 aft.	No symbol	8 var.	8	
M. Antigoneia "	222	No symbol	12 var.	12	
Megalopolis "		Syrinx or pedum.	13 var.	2	Æ. Syrinx 370 B.C
Megara in Megaris	243	Lyre	15 var.	0	before 338 B.C. Æ.
Megara with Page	208	No symbol	4 var.	4	
Messene in Messenia	191	on. 2 a Fulmen	20 var.	18	191 B.C.
Pallantium Arcadia	194	Trident	4 var.	0	194 B.C.
Patræ in Achaia	280	Dolphin	24 var.	0	280 B.C.
Pellene in Achaia	274	Lyre or Vase	4 var.	0	Æ. From 370 B.C. Lyre
Pheneus in Arcadia	234	Caduceus	2 var.	1 ?	Æ. From 362 B.C.
Sicyon in Argolis	251	Dove Tripod	20 var.	3	Before 400 B.C.
Tegea in Arcadia	222	No symbol	6 var.	6	

BRONZE COINAGE.

The Bronze coinage is more important historically than the silver because we read the name of each city in full with the name of the

league as ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΩΝ. These coins however are not common and are seldom found in a good state of preservation.

On the Obverse is a full length figure of Zeus Homagyrios holding Nike and leaning on a sceptre.

On the Reverse the figure of Demeter Panachaia (?) seated, holding a wreath and resting on a sceptre.

On the one side is the name of the city, on the other a local magistrate's name generally given in full.

The temples of these two gods near to one another at Aegium are described by Pausanias (lib. VII, chap. XXIV). Although not common coins they are not so rare that those who are interested in the series of the Achæan League may not obtain a specimen.

For further information concerning the League, confer A Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, 1863 & 1893; W. Vischer, Abh. in the 1st vol. of his *Kleine Schriften*; M. Dubois, *Les Ligues étolienne et achéenne*, Paris, 1864; Gilbert, 2, 104, 123 and the writings he quotes of Helwing, 1829, Merleker 1831, Wahner, 1854, Weinert, 1881, Mahaffy, *Problems*, 176-186; Busolt, *Gr. Staats Alterth.*, 1092; Töpffer, Achaia, in the new edition of Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*.

On the League and its constitution confer the notes on p. 271 vol. IV of the *History of Greece*, by Adolf Holm, translated by Fredk Clarke.

CITY	LEGEND
Aegeira.	ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΙΡΑΤΩΝ.
Aegium.	— ΑΙΓΕΩΝ.
Alea.	— ΑΛΕΑΤΩΝ.
Alipheira.	— ΑΛΙΦΕΙΡΕΩΝ.
Argos.	— ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ.
Asea.	— ΑΣΕΑΤΑΝ or ΩΝ.
Asine.	— ΑΣΙΝΑΙΩΝ.
Callista.	— ΚΑΛΛΑΙΣΤΑΤΑΝ.
Caphyæ.	— ΚΑΦΥΕΩΝ.
Ceryneia.	— ΚΑΡΝΕΩΝ.
Cleitor.	— ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ.
Cleonae.	— ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ.
Corinth.	— ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ.
Corone.	— ΚΟΡΩΝΑΙΩΝ.
Dipaea.	— ΔΙΠΑΙΕΩΝ.
Dyme.	— ΔΥΜΑΙΩΝ.
Elis.	— ΑΛΕΙΩΝ.
Elisphasii.	— ΕΛΙΣΦΑΣΙΩΝ.
Epidaurus.	— ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΕΩΝ.
Gortys.	— ΚΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ.

Heraea.	— ΗΡΑΙΕΩΝ.
Hermione.	— ΕΡΜΙΟΝΩΝ.
Hypana.	— ΥΠΑΝΩΝ.
Lacedemon.	— No Bronze. because plenty in circulation.
Lusi.	— ΛΟΥΣΙΑΤΑΝ.
Mantineia.	— ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΩΝ.
— Antigoneia.	
Megalopolis.	— ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.
Megara.	— ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ.
Messene.	— ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ.
Methydrium.	— ΜΕΘΥΔΡΙΕΩ
Pagæ.	— ΠΑΓΑΙΩΝ.
Pallantium.	— ΠΑΛΛΑΝΤΕΩΝ.
Patræ.	No bronze.
Pellene.	— ΠΕΛΛΑΝΕΩΝ.
Pheneus.	— ΦΕΝΕΩΝ.
Phigalia.	— ΦΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ.
Phlius.	— ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ.
Sicyon.	— ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ.
Stymphalus.	— ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ.
Tegea.	— ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ.
Teuthis.	— ΤΕΥΘΙΔΑΝ.
Theisoa.	— ΘΙΣΟΑΙΩΝ.
Thelpusa.	— ΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

COMMON COINS OF THE LYCIAN LEAGUE.

In small collections of Greek coins we often see Lycian half-drachms bearing on the Obverse a head of Apollo, and on the Reverse a lyre in an incuse square.

The coins of the Lycian League were being issued at the same time as those of the Achaean League, between 168 B. C. and 43 A. D., and have much in common with that series besides the date.

As the coins of Athens remind us of the cult of Athene, those of Aegina of Aphrodite, those of Boeotia of Heracles, those of Macedon of Zeus, so those of Lycia bear witness to the worship of Apollo.

Though the Lycian types are more beautiful than the Achaean, they lack the personal interest of that series, for we cannot associate them with any Lycian heroes or statesmen; indeed the only names commemorated by Polybius, Strabo, or Livy in connection with this League are those of the Roman generals who conquered Antiochus and freed Lycia from the Rhodian rule.

The more ancient coins of Lycia are rare, and therefore do not come within the scope of these chapters on Common Coins. Some of the early rare coins were issued before 480 B.C. The solar emblem, the Triskelis, is found on those issued between 480 and 450 B.C. Between 330 and 190 B.C. the only coins issued in Lycia were the tetradrachms bearing the normal types of Alexander the Great.

The bronze coins of the League contemporary with the common

silver coins are not common enough to be treated in these chapters. They bear heads of either Apollo, Artemis, or Hermes on the Obverse, and a lyre, stag, quiver, or caduceus on the Reverse; many of them are very small.

Some bronze coins exist of cities belonging to the League of which we have no silver coins. The coins of this little known land of ruined cities remind us of a saying of M. Gauthier " Tout passe — L'art robuste a seul l'éternité. Le buste survit à la cité."

BOOKS ON LYCIA.

An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, by Chas. Fellows (1840) contains 519 pages (12°) and is well illustrated.

" Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor ", by C. Fellows, 1828. Pub. J. Murray, 1839, contains 339 pages (12mo.)

Travels in Lycia, by Lieutenant Spratt and Professor Edward Forbes. 2 vols. London, 1847, each about 300 pages (8°), illustrated with Lithographs.

An Essay on Greek Federal Coinage, by the Hon. J. Leicester Warren. Macmillan & Co, 1863.

Introduction to the Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, by G. F. Hill. 1897.

E. A. Freeman's History of Federal Government, 633 pages. Edited by J. B. Bury, M. A. Macmillan, 1893, 2nd ed.

Article " Lycia ", in the Dictionary of Classical Geography; Strabo, XIV, 13.

Polybius XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXX, XXXI, XXXIV.

Herodotus I, 18, 173, 176; III, 90; VII, 77, 92.

Livy XXXVII.

THE LYCIAN LAND.

Bathed in the sunlight of the southern shores of Asia Minor, the land of Apollo Lycios extends for about a hundred miles between Caria in the West and Pamphilia in the East, while its sunny bays are shielded from the cold north winds by the Taurus ranges. The land was open to the influences of all the centres of ancient civilization; the island of Rhodes was only about thirty miles to the south of its western border, and the whole line of coast fringed the ocean highway for vessels trading between Greece and Phoenicia. St. Paul's visit to Patara and Myra on his voyage to Rome is an illustration of the use of this trade route. Hence the land was in early days occupied by Semnites, and invaded from Crete, which, though farther off than Rhodes, was yet in the route of vessels trading with Syria. This beautiful land, rich in remains of Greek art,

is chiefly known to us from the writings of Sir Charles Fellows, who visited the country in 1839, Spratt and Forbes, Captain Beaufort, and Dr Clarke. Almost the whole of Lycia is a rugged mountainous country traversed by offshoots of the great Taurus range. The most marked of the bays along the coast is that to the West, now called the Gulf of Macri. On the south-east is a tongue of rocky hill, called the Sacred Promontory, with three islands off the coast, called the Chelidonian isles.

The port of Myra was thought to be the nearest point to Egypt, and to be opposite Canopus. The mountains of note were Dædalus in the west, Cragus on the coast, Massicytus near the centre, rising to a height of 10.000 feet, Solyma in the east, rising to 7.800 feet above Phaselis. Only two rivers were of any importance, the Xanthus and the Limyrus. The small alluvial plains near the mouths of these rivers are the only level ground in the land.

The country was thickly populated, although the League consisted of only twenty-three cities. Pliny says there were seventy once, though only twenty-six remained in his day.

In the flank of the mountain Solyma was the celebrated gaseous fiery source, called the Chimaera, concerning which the well-known myths arose, which connect Lycia with Corinth in regard to legends.

THE LYCIAN FOLK.

The scenery of a land is thought to influence the character of its inhabitants, and mountaineers are generally brave and strong; the intermarriage of races is also considered a source of strength. These advantages the Lycians enjoyed, and were famed for political wisdom and indomitable courage as well as skill in art. The earliest inhabitants known to us were a Semitic race called Milyans or Solymi; these were conquered by an Aryan race, called Termilae, or according to inscriptions, Tramilae. It is improbable that they came from Crete as Herodotus relates, but wherever they came from, their invasion took place before the advent of the Dorian Greeks to Crete under Althæmenes of Argos circ. 1000 B. C. Rawlinson says the Termilae were a Zend-speaking race of Indo-Europeans. The legends related by Herodotus belong to the mythical ages; some of them are interesting as connecting the myths of Lycia with those of Corinth. For instance, Bellerophon of Corinth was sent by Proteus to Iobates, king of Lycia, who sent him to fight the Solymi. Homer does not relate the story of Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra with the help of Pegasus. In Lycian sculptures he is seen riding on Pegasus and slaying the Chimæra.

According to Herodotus (I, 173) the name Lycia is said to have been derived from another mythical hero of that period. "But when

Lycus, son of Pandeon, came from Athens, the Termilae under Sarpedon in course of time got to be called Lycians after him". He is mentioned as a prophet by Pausanias (X, 12) and also as the ancestor of the Athenian family of the Lycomedæ.

If such a myth were worthy of consideration it would be on account of the possibility of Lycus being in some sense the founder of the Lycian League, but there is another and a much more probably true derivation for the name of the land, viz. that which connects the name Lycia with the Sun-god Apollo Lycios " light-born ", and this is rendered probable from his symbol, the triskelis, appearing on the early coinage.

It is difficult to imagine how an Athenian Greek could in the days of Sarpedon give his name to the race of the Trojan allies and enemies of the Hellenic race.

From Herodotus we learn that the great peculiarity of the Termilae was their custom of taking their names from their mothers instead of their fathers, and that even when a free-born woman married a slave their children were accounted free.

Many of the inscriptions are found written in both Zend and Greek, and the Lycian alphabet is frequently found on the ancient coins.

Archæological remains of the Termilae are found in the following cities : Calynda, Termessus, Massicytus, Antiphellus and Limyra.

In the funeral inscriptions found in these cities the mother's names are mentioned instead of the father's.

The inscriptions are written in an alphabet derived from the Dorian Greeks; no less than twenty-four of the letters being identical, while most of the additional letters appear to have been invented to express vowel sounds not distinguished by the Greeks.

The Lycian language belonged to the great Aryan family and had close affinities with the Zend.

Mr. Daniel Sharpe began the study and was followed by Moritz Schmidt, 1869, and Savelsberg, 1874.

From the fall of Troy to the invasion of Lycia by Croesus nothing is known of this people.

When Croesus had subdued the neighbouring cities about the year 560 B.C. he was unable to conquer the Lycians. They must have been an exceptionally brave and united people to resist the power of Croesus, and the fact points to the probability that the League was then already in existence. We know not who brought about the confederation; the world knows nothing of its greatest men. The Lycians were however unable to resist the power of the Persian armies under Cyrus who invaded the land in 546 B.C.

The citizens of Xanthus chose to die rather than submit to their

foes. Their courage and devotion is recorded by Herodotus (I, 176) who tells how they burnt their citadel with their families and treasures and then died fighting.

Forty-seven years afterwards in 499 B.C. the Lycians joined the revolt of the Asiatic Greeks against Persia (III, 90) but were subdued by Darius. A most vivid picture of the Lycian folk is given by Herodotus in his description of the army of Xerxes on the march to Greece.

"The Milyæ had short lances and their garments were fastened with clasps.

"Some of them had Lycian bows, and on their heads helmets made of tanned skins. The Lycians contributed fifty ships, and wore breast-plates and greaves. They had bows made of cornel wood and cane arrows without feathers, and javelins, and besides, goat-skins suspended over their shoulders, and on their heads caps surrounded with feathers; they had also daggers and falchions."

Although this description tells us what the Lycians were like some four hundred years before our common coins were issued, yet the influence of Greece and Rome would probably not have utterly changed the arms and dress of the nation at the time of the League, and to the eyes of Scipio and Aemilius they no doubt appeared Eastern Barbarians.

The Greek language, however, must have been firmly established, and commonly known, or it would not have been used for the coin legends.

In 333 B.C. Alexander the Great subdued the cities of Lycia without bloodshed, and after his death the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ ruled the land until the Romans conquered Antiochus III, and took possession of all the country south of the Taurus.

The story of the Roman conquest and of the liberation of the Lycians, and the rise of the League in 168 B.C. can be collected from brief passages in Polybius, Livy and Appian.

Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, came into conflict with the Romans through his arrangement with Philip of Macedon to share with him the kingdom of Ptolemy, whose guardians had placed him under the protection of the Romans. In 197 B.C. the Romans conquered Philip, and four years later after the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans in Greece he returned to Asia and was again defeated at Magnesia in 190 B.C. All the country west of the Taurus ranges was then given up.

He died at Elymais in 187 B.C. (confer Dan. XI. 18, 19.)

The cities of Lycia were wise enough to side with the Romans in their war with Mithridates in the year 88 B.C. That monarch made a fruitless attack on Patara, and then retired to Pergamos, when he ordered the infamous massacre of all Romans in Asia.

In 84 B.C. the first war was ended, but only for a brief period, and until his death in 63 B.C. the war raged in Asia, but generally far from Lycia.

The next war which troubled the Lycian cities was that which M. Junius Brutus, the son of Cæsar's murderer, waged with the Triumvirate. Brutus and Cassius ravaged Lycia, destroyed Xanthus and retired laden with booty to Sardis : during the next year he died at Philippi.

The League continued to exist until internal dissension caused Claudius to destroy the federation in 43 B.C., when the League represented by this federal coinage had lasted two hundred and ten years.

The religion of the Lycians, one of the brightest of all the Grecian cults, arose naturally from the climate of their land. On their sunlit shores open to the south and sheltered from the north winds by the ranges of the Taurus the sunlight was chosen as the emblem of the divine nature, and that which the Semnites had worshipped as Baal, the Dorian Greeks called Apollo. The ancient Grecks called him Λυκηγενής which may mean either a referencé to his being Lycian born or perhaps more probably the god born of light. Some think the worship of Apollo arose in Asia Minor, but others, as Müller, that the Dorians carried the cult with them to Crete. In Lycia, the city Patara became the chief centre of his worship, and the seat of his oracle at least during the months of winter. There, his festivals were held on the seventh day of every month, and on the birthday of each new moon. In Homer's time Apollo and Helios were distinct deities, but Pausanias and Callimachus taught that they were the same. The Egyptian Horus was regarded as one with Apollo.

The silver coins show from their Reverse types that it was as a god of harmony that the Lycians worshipped Apollo, and this character of the god was prominent as early as the Homeric period, for in the *Iliad* (I, 603) a feast of the gods was described as not wanting in the music of his lyre.

Callimachus and Plutarch ascribe to him the invention of the lyre, others however taught that Apollo learnt the art of playing on the lyre from Hermes.

Early legends represent the Lycians as allies of the Trojans, and the Lycian god as playing his harp while the walls of Troy were raised. This legend brings before us another character of Apollo, viz. that of the founder of cities. The Athenian festival of the Metageitnia glorified him as the author of civic union; it commemorated an emigration of the inhabitants of Melite to Diomis (Plut. *De exil.*, p. 601).

In this character, he was called κτίστης, and οἰκιστής, because the

Greeks in founding colonies or cities called upon him as their leader in such enterprises.

THE LYCIAN LEAGUE.

Many writers have praised the good government of the Lycians. Montesquieu says in his "Esprit des Lois" (IX, 3): "S'il falloit donner un modèle d'une belle république fédérative, je prendrais la république de Lycie."

Bishop Thirlwall (II, 116) also says: "The Lycians set an example of the manner in which the advantages of a close federal union might be combined with mutual independence". We have also the witness of Mr. Ed. A. Freeman: "to the political inquirer the country is interesting as possessing what was probably the best constructed Federal Government the ancient world beheld."

Strabo's words seem to imply that the assembly was not one of representatives, but that in deciding questions laid before them each city had three, two, or one vote, according to its size. Every citizen of each town had a right to attend, but in the Assembly each town gave its votes separately.

It is the first recorded instance of an attempt to apportion votes to population.

Mr. Freeman thinks there was a Senate which considered the agenda before the Assembly met.

The details of the League constitution as described by Strabo probably belong only to the period of the coinage we are studying, but no doubt there was an earlier League, for Aristotle found it worthy of a place in his collection. The ruins and monuments do not give us any information as to the older government. Even while subject to Rhodes they kept up their League government.

Mr. Freeman notices: "it is a pleasing thought that as the Achaeans and Lycians are the nations which stand forth, in our first Homeric picture, as the worthiest races of Europe and Asia, so it was the Achaeans and Lycians who were the last to maintain in Europe and in Asia the true federal form of freedom in the face of the advances of all-devouring Rome." (Gladstone's Homer, I, 181).

Dion. Cassius (IX, 17) and Suetonius (IX, 17) (Claud. 25) relate the causes of the fall of the Federation in the reign of Claudius to have been internal dissension and violence.

The League (Σύστημα) consisted of a union of twenty-three cities, of which the principal were Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Olympus, Myra and Tlos; all these had three votes in the general assembly, (τὸ κοινὸν συνεδριον) the greater number of the rest having two, and a few only one vote.

The supreme magistrate was called the Lyciarch. He and all the others officers were chosen at the general assembly. The internal affairs of each city were managed by a council, called the Βουλή, and an assembly of the people, called the Δῆμος, as was usual in most Greek cities. The general assembly seems to have met wherever most convenient, and not in any one centre. Besides the great League there seem to have been minor federations for the purpose of minting money, such as that of the cities near the mounts Cragus and Massicytus, and also even more subsidiary arrangements between Cragus and Telmessus and Trebala.

It was probably in the time of Augustus that these minor alliances were made, and it is most likely that the words "συμπολιτευομενοι ὀηλοι" found on the inscriptions refer to these.

It is difficult to find any personal interest in the League, as the only names that come before us are Roman; for instance, that of the consul M. Aulius Glabrio, who began the war in 191 B.C., and next year, L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, who went to Asia, and the Prætor Aemilius, who led the fleet. No names of Lycian men are given by Polybius or Livy, and we may presume there was no very strong or prominent man at the head of the League.

From an inscription, published in the "Athenische Mittheilungen" (XIV, p. 412), we learn that the men who used these silver coins called them "citharephoroi", that is 'lyre bearers', from the lyre on the Reverse type. For a similar reason the men of Athens and Corinth called their coins "owls" and "colts". These Lycian coins, Dr Head says, "consisted of silver hemidrachms of Rhodian weight characterized by the reappearance of a sharply defined incuse square on the Reverse". The weight of the existing specimens is generally about 29 grains, which is about what we should expect hemidrachms to weigh. However, in the Catalogue of the Lycian coins in the British Museum, these coins are called drachms; this is probably a use of the word drachm which is referred to by Dr Head in his "Introduction to the Carian and Rhodian coins" (page CXIV), where evidence is given of the very loose way in which the word ὀραχμή was used for any silver coins of about the size of a Roman denarius.

Mr. G. F. Hill gives 3.88 grammes (59.88 grs.) as the weight of a Rhodian drachm (p. 223 "Handbook of Greek and Roman coins"). This is a proof that these coins weighing about 29 grs. are Hemidrachms.

THE OBVERSE TYPES.

A head of Apollo always formed the Obverse type of the Lycian Hemidrachm, but as we might naturally expect, during a period of

two hundred and ten years, different varieties of the head appeared on the coinage from time to time.

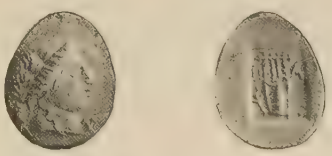
It has been found very difficult to arrange these four varied types in chronological order, or to fix the dates when the changes were made, but from the weight and fabric the heads here classed in the first series may be considered the oldest and to represent those issued in 168 B.C. when the Lycians were freed from the Rhodian rule.

I

I. Laureate head to right with short natural curls. The letters Λ-Υ appear on either side of the neck. The character of the work is good.

This type is found on the coinage of both Cragus and Massicytus. Some coins of Chalcidice bear a similar head of Apollo, and a lyre also appears on their Reverse.

The year of the first issue was the year before Polybius, with the thousand Achaians, was sent to Rome.



II. Laureate head, with hair arranged in a roll under the crown. From their style it is probable that they were issued before 81 B.C. This series generally belongs to Massicytus.

Similar heads may be seen on coins of Miletus (300-250 B.C.) and also on coins of Syracuse, and on coins of Damastium Illyriæ, and on copper coins of Hamaxitus.

I have never seen a statue with the hair thus arranged and with a laurel crown. Many well known statues show the hair arranged in this manner, but always with the tænia, as on the following well-known examples : No 17, Tafel XXVI, of the Atlas to J. Overbeck's work. A fine head from Pompei in the " Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastic ". A statue in the Barracco Collection at Rome. The bronze figures in the Bronze room at the British Museum numbered 7, 4, 987. The Apollo of Chatsworth, illustrated in the " Journal of Hellenic Studies ", vol. XXI, plate XIII.

The great marble statue of Apollo in the British Museum shows the laurel wreath, but it is difficult to say whether the hair is rolled quite like the rolls on the coin ; it is rather more free.

A coin of Phaselis in the British Museum with the hair in large loose curls differs from the usual type of this series in that two ringlets appear on the neck of the god. These curls on the neck are seen on the great marble statue in the British Museum above-mentioned. The two curls on the neck are common on statues; they are very prominent on large silver coins of Myrina on a type with the laurel crown, and the archaic short curls over the brow.

III (a). Laureate head of Apollo to right, with formal ringlets hanging over the ear, and one long thin curl or row of short curls round the forehead down to the top of the ear. They bear the letters Λ Υ in the field on either side of the neck.

On some of these coins a small bow and quiver appears behind the neck. The style of art varies considerably in this series, some of the heads being finely executed, and others very roughly.

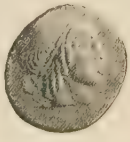
It is thought that this series began to be issued about 81 B.C. when the affairs of the League were reorganized. The type is very similar to that on the Obverse of the very common coins of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, which were issued about 89 B.C., i. e. seven or eight years before the issue of this series.

No connection of L. C. P. Frugi with Lycia seems to be recorded, but the money issued by him was so plentiful that it probably was carried to the East to pay the Roman troops there.

This series belongs to both Cragus and Massicytus.

III (b). The same type, differing only in that the head is turned to the left. This series belongs to Massicytus.

IV



IV. The head of Apollo to right with the same formal curls as on the third series, but distinguished by the taenia (ταινία) or fillet instead of the laurel crown The bow and quiver is seen behind the neck, and on some specimens the letters Λ Υ in the field.

As a rule these heads with the tænia appear to be more finely executed than those of the third series. None of the coins of Calp. Piso Frugi bear the tænia.

This series is found among the coins of Cragus and Massicytus.

The statues seldom show the tænia with the formal ringlets; they chiefly show the tænia with the hair rolled, but a head of Apollo is given by S. Reinach, from the Museum at Naples, with side ringlets and the tænia, but it differs from the coin-types in the row of short curls around the forehead, at right angles to the tænia, being much more clearly shown, than on the coins.

Perhaps the two best known heads of Apollo are those of the Apollo Belvedere at Rome and the Apollo Citharoedus at Munich. These heads differ from those on the coins in the bunch of prominent hair over the forehead of the god. This feature does not appear on any coin known to me.

THE REVERSE TYPE.

The surface of the reverse is very flat and is stamped with an incuse square as large as to fill the space.

The incuse square was introduced as a revival of an ancient process of minting which had long fallen into disuse. It reappeared on the gold coins of Rhodes in 189 B.C. when Caria and Lycia were given to the Rhodians on the defeat of Antiochus. From the Rhodian mint this design was copied by the Lycians in 168 B.C. when they became free from the Rhodians.

Within the square a lyre with three, five, or seven strings. On some specimens the name of the League ΛΥΚΙΩΝ appears above the lyre, and the initial letters of the monetary districts Cragus P K, or Massicytus M A, on either side of the lyre.

On some specimens symbols appear as well as the initial letters. The cities which issued coins, apart from the above-named districts, also placed their initial letters on either side of the Lyre, as P-I for Pinara, M-Y for Myra, R-O for Rhodiapolis, &c.

The lyre represents one of the most ancient of all stringed instruments; it may be seen on the tomb at Beni Hassan, discovered by Sir G. Wilkinson, and also on the Assyrian bas-reliefs in the British Museum. In the Pentateuch this instrument is called the "Kinnor". It was probably introduced to the Greeks through Asia Minor and Phoenicia.

A lyre similar in shape to that on our Lycian coins is found depicted on p. 60 of Sir John Stainer's "Music of the Bible", from a painting in Herculaneum.

The horn-like projections at the sides were called πήχεις, or

"cornua", and the transverse piece of wood on which the strings were fastened was called the ζύγον, or yoke, and in Latin "transtillum".

In Homer's Hymn to Hermes that god is said to have invented the lyre by placing strings across a tortoise-shell. Diodorus says three, and Macrobius says four, was the original number of the strings. Terpander of Antissa is said by Euclid and Strabo to have made the number seven by adding three strings to the original four.

The Kinnor was known to the Greeks by three names: lyre, cithara, and phorminx, but by the expressions λύρα κιθαριζειν, φόρμιγγι κιθαρίζειν and κίθαρα φορμίζειν we see that the three names were applied to one instrument.

The lyre was chiefly used to accompany the voice in singing.

THE CITIES OF THE LEAGUE.

The cities of the League which issued coins may be classified in five groups.

First, that near mount Cragus, nine cities.

Second, that near mount Massicytus, four cities.

These two groups are the only ones represented by really common coins.

Third, that called the Central group, four cities.

Fourth, that called the Eastern group, four cities.

Fifth, that called the Northern group, one city.

Thirteen cities are known to have issued silver League coins, and eleven to have issued bronze only; at any rate none of their silver coins have been preserved to our day.

Ten cities issued both silver and bronze League coins known to us.

The following alphabetical list of cities will make the subject clear.

LIST OF CITIES

CITY	COINS	INITIALS	GROUP
Antiphellus.	Æ.		Central.
Aperlæ.	Æ.	ΑΠ	—
Apollonia.	Æ.	ΑΠΟ	—
Araxa?	Æ.	ΑΡΑ	Cragus.
Arycanda.	Æ.	ΑΡΥ	Central.
Bubon.	Æ.	ΒΟΥ	Northern.
Cyaneæ.	Æ.	ΚΥΑ	Massicytus.

Gagæ.	Æ.	Æ.	ΓΑ	Eastern.
Limyra.	Æ.	Æ.	ΛΙ	Eastern.
Myra.	Æ.	Æ.	ΜΥ	Massicytus.
Olympus.	Æ.	?	ΟΛ or ΟΛΥΜ	Eastern.
Patara.	Æ.	Æ.	ΡΑ	Cragus.
Phellus.		Æ.	ΦΕ	Central.
Pinara.	Æ.	Æ.	ΠΙ	Cragus.
Podalia.		Æ.	ΠΟΔ	
Rhodiapolis.	Æ.	Æ.	ΡΟ	Eastern.
Sidyma.	Æ.		ΣΙ	Cragus.
Telmessus.	Æ.	Æ.	ΛΥ—ΤΕΛ—ΚΡ	Cragus.
			ΚΡ—ΤΕΛ	
			ΤΕΛ—ΚΡ	
Tlos.	Æ.	Æ.	ΛΥΚΙΩΝ—ΤΛ	Cragus.
			ΛΥ—ΤΛ	
			ΤΛ	
			ΤΛ ΚΡ	
			ΛΥ ΤΛΩ—ΚΡ	
Trabala.	Æ.		ΤΡΑ—ΚΡ	Cragus.
Tebenna.		Æ.	ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΤΡ	Eastern.
Tymena.		Æ.	ΛΥ—ΤΥ	Massicytus.
Xanthus.	Æ.	Æ.	ΛΥ ΞΑ	Cragus.
			ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΞΑ and ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝ	
			ΛΥ—ΚΡ — ΞΑΝ	

The names Cragus and Massicytus, represented by ΚΡ and ΜΑ, on both Æ, and Æ. represent not the cities of those names but the districts.

No coins are known of some cities in these groups, such as Calynda, Dias in the Cragus district, Candyba and Tybenissus in the Massicytus district, Acalissus, Choma in the Central district, or of Balbura or Oenoanda in the Northern district.

CRAGUS.

This name in some modern books is spelt Kragus, but in these chapters the Latin custom of transliteration has been adopted because it is still used by the authorities at the British Museum. Of all the Lycian coins perhaps the most common are those bearing the letters ΚΡ on the Reverse, but although there was a small city of that name it is thought that the ΚΡ refers to the cities in the district around the mountain Cragus rather than to the city itself.

The district so-called contained the following nine cities: Calynda, Araxa, Telmessus, Pinara, Sidyma, Tlos, Xanthus, Patara, and Dias; of these Xanthus and Patara were the most important centres, and perhaps Sidyma should be classed with them.

On the Reverse of these coins of Cragus bearing the formal heads of the second series, the word ΛΥΚΑΙΩΝ is placed above the lyre, Κ-Ρ on the left of the lower side of the lyre and Α on the right side; on others the letter Κ is placed above a tripod as a symbol to left of the lyre and ΡΑ on the right of the lyre. The following symbols also occur: a branch with fillets, an ear of corn, a spray or bud. The lyre on this series generally has only three strings.

COINS OF THE CRAGUS GROUP BEARING OTHER INITIALS.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is a coin of Sidyma with the legend ΛΥΚΙΩΝ Σ-Ι belonging to the earliest series of these coins.

In the British Museum is a coin of Pinara bearing the letters ΠΙ. According to the Lycian history of Menecrates, quoted by Stephanus Byz., Pinara arose as a colony from Xanthus. The word Pinara is said to be a Lycian word signifying a round hill.

The theatre at Pinara is still in a very perfect condition, and some of the rock hewn tombs are richly adorned with Greek sculpture.

The initials Κ-Ρ are also found together with those of other cities, such as Tlos, Xanthus, Myra, Telmessus and Trebala. It has been suggested that this fact implies that Cragus may have been the centre of the Anti-Roman party, and that as the cities of the group round Massicytus never issued similar alliance coins, those cities may have been the centre of Roman influence.

An important historical fact derivable from the Reverse types of the Lycian coins is that the supreme authority of the League is recognized in the legend ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΚΡΑΓ[ΩΝ] which is similar to that on the Achaian League coins, ΑΧΙΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩΝ. It has been thought by some that coins which bear no letters on the Reverse were issued from Xanthus, but the style and fabric must in all such cases agree with those known to be from that mint, if we are to accept the idea.

The Lycian coinage differs from the Achaian in that the Lycian coins never bear the names of magistrates.

Xanthus, the ancient seat of the Termila, occupied a beautiful site, among rocks and cliffs, about 70 stadia from the mouth of the river Xanthus. Twice the city was destroyed, and on each occasion the citizens preferred death to slavery; the first destruction was

that under Cyrus, described by Herodotus (1.176), and the second that by Brutus and Cassius in 43 B.C. about 500 years after the first. The story of the second fall of the city is told by Dion Cassius (XLVII 34) and Appian. (Bell. Civ, IV, 18). So terrible was this destruction that the city never recovered.

The reason that so few of the earlier coins of Xanthus have been preserved may be that the great mass of money was destroyed in the destruction of the city in 43 B.C. and most of the coins which have come down to our time were issued after that date.

The two chief temples were those of Sarpedon and Apollo (Diod. V, 77). In the British Museum we may see some of the sculpture from this city executed in the fifth and sixth centuries before the Christian era.

Bronze coins exist with KP and Ξ N. Cragus and Xanthus.
A

PATARA.

Patara owed its commercial prosperity to its good harbour about 60 stadia to the south-east of the river Xanthus, and its importance was further increased by the fame of its Temple and Oracle of Apollo. The founder of the city of Patara was called the son of Apollo, hence that deity was spoken of as Apollo Patareus, described by Horace (Carm, III, IV) as " he who will never lay aside his bow from his shoulders—Apollo of Delos and Patara, who bathes his flowing hair in the clear dew of Castalia, who holds the Lycian thickets and his native wood. "

For the six winter months the oracle of Apollo was seated at Patara (confer the notes of Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* IV, 143).

In the harbour Quintus Fabius Labeo burnt the ships of Antiochus, and the importance of Patara in this war is evident from the thirty-seventh book of Livy.

In the British Museum is a silver coin of Patara, struck between 168 and 81 B.C. : Head of Apollo laureate, hair flowing. Reverse. ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. Lyre in field Π—Α.

TLOS.

There are two silver League coins of Tlos in the British Museum. One bears a laureate head of Apollo to right with hair rolled, and a large curl flowing over the neck. Bow and quiver behind. On Rℒ. ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΤΛ and in field to right a crested helmet as symbol. The symbol is on the left in the second specimen; in other respects the types are similar.

From the extensive ruins which remain, Tlos, one of the six principal cities of the League, must have been a large and rich city.

The theatre was the richest architecturally, seen by Sir C. Fellows. The most striking feature of the place is the series of rock-hewn tombs with which the rocks are honeycombed.

The site of the city is on the eastern bank of the river, almost due north of Xanthus.

MASSICYTUS.

The group of four cities which distinguished their coinage by placing the letters MA in the incuse square on the Reverse lies in the most southern projection of the Lycian land. Their territory, bounded on the north by the river Myrus, was a plain about ten miles long from East to West, and about five from North to South.

The cities of this plain were Myra, Cyaneæ, Candyba, and Tybenissus or perhaps Tymena. Myra was the only city which placed the initial letters of the city on the coinage.

The coins bearing MA are plentiful, and are found with all the four series of heads on the Obverse.

The name given to the group was that of the mountain which towers over the plain.

Some bear ΛΥΚΙΩΝ above the lyre and $\frac{\text{MA}}{\Sigma\text{I}}$ in the field of the incuse square.

Some of the poor specimens are very light, as low as 25 grains.

Of Cyaneæ only bronze coins are generally found (*Num. Chron.*, X, 83). However there are two silver coins of Cyaneæ in the British Museum bearing ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΚΥ.

MYRA.

In the British Museum is a silver League coin of Myra with Head of Apollo laureate with hair rolled, and bow and quiver behind shoulder.

℞. ΛΥΚΙΩΝ Μ—Υ. In the field to left a crown of Isis.

Another coin bears $\frac{\text{MY}}{\text{PA}}$ in the incuse square.

The name of this city is perhaps more familiar to us than many of the others, because it is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. XXVII, 5), where we read St. Paul visited the port on his way to Italy. The town still exists, and is called Dembre by the Turks. Remains of a large theatre still exist, and many fine ruins, some of which are among the most beautiful in Lycia.

The city stood about twenty stadia from the sea, on the banks of the river Myros, and was the chief city of the group round Massicytus.

CENTRAL GROUP OF CITIES.

The cities which may be called the central group were: Amelas (?), Arycanda, Choma, Podalia, Antiphellus, Phellus, Aperlæ, Apollonia, and Acalissus. The only towns of this group which are thought to have issued silver coins bearing their initial letters on the Reverse are Amelas and Arycanda. However, in regard to Amelas, we must note that the letters AM on the coin attributed to that city may perhaps offer an instance of the old fashion of reading from right to left, and may possibly stand for Massicytus, for on some coins of that district the letters ΛΥ are reversed and read Υ Λ.

The one coin in the British Museum attributed to Arycanda is not in a sufficiently perfect condition to render the reading of the monogram certain. The coin is one of those of the second series of Obverse types, and the monogram Ꝑ is placed on the obverse in front. It is the only instance of a monogram on the Obverse. In the field of the Rℒ. is a bow and arrow, and above is the legend ΛΥΚΙ[ΩΝ]. I think the Ρ loop is visible.

No silver coins are known of the cities of this group which were situated near the coast, viz. Antiphellus, Phellus, Aperla and Apollonia, but bronze coins, none of which are common, are to be seen in the British Museum.

THE EASTERN GROUP OF CITIES.

This group consists of Limyra, Gagæ, Rhodiapolis, Olympus, Phaselis, Trebenna, and Corydalla. League coins are known of all except the last, but of Trebenna only small bronze coins are known.

LIMYRA.

There are four coins of Limyra in the British Museum. Three of them bear heads of the II. series, i.e. with the hair arranged in a roll; the fourth bears a head of the I. series with wavy locks.

The letters ΛΙ appear on the incuse square on the Reverse.

GAGÆ.

There is only one coin of Gagæ in the British Museum. The hair on Apollo's head is arranged in heavy wavy locks making it doubtful whether to class it as belonging to N° I or N° II series; the bow and quiver appear at the back of the neck. On the Reverse is ΛΥΚΙΩΝ above the lyre and ΓΑ in the incuse square. The workmanship is rough; weight 43.2 grs.

RHODIAPOLIS.

There is a silver coin of this city in the British Museum, of the earliest period of the League; on the Reverse ΛΥΚΙΩΝ and PO in the incuse square.

OLYMPUS.

This city is situated on the banks of a stream now called the Delek tasch Tchai, at the foot of Mount Olympus. The city was destroyed by P. Servius Vatia in 77 B.C. in his war with the pirates.

A silver league coin is in the British Museum (confer Catalogue, plate XLIII, fig. 3). The head on the Obverse is of the earliest type. On the Reverse, the name ΟΛΥΜ[ΠΗ] is over the lyre in the place where we usually see ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. In the field to left is a crested helmet, and to right, a round shield with a sword.

PHASELIS.

Tetradrachms bearing the normal type of Alexander the Great are known bearing ΦΑ issued from this city. Although it is said by Strabo that Phaselis did not belong to the Lycian League there are two silver coins in the British Museum similar in type to the League coins, one of the earliest period, the other of the II. period; on the Reverse of each the name ΦΑΣΗΛΙ appears over the lyre as on the coin of Olympus. Perhaps the fact that the city's name was placed where usually the name of the League appeared is a sign of their independence of the League. In the B.M. Catalogue, XLIII, 6, is a third specimen with laureate head and rolled hair, but with the peculiarity of two curls hanging down the neck.

The city was near the borders of Pamphylia at the foot of Mount Solyma: its three harbours gained it an extensive commerce. As the head-quarters of the Pirates it was destroyed by P. Servilius Isauricus.

TREBENNA.

Only small bronze League coins are known of this city.

THE NORTHERN GROUP.

This group consisted of the cities Balbura, Bubon, and Oenoanda; they are said to have been joined to the Lycian League by Murena in 81 B.C.

The only coins of this group are bronze coins of Bubon and they are rare.

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P. 65 for "thus were exiled from Boeotia" read "they exiled the citizens", line 4.
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